THE

# MONTH

OCTOBER 1867.



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<sup>\* \*</sup> Advertisements to be sent to Mr. G. Bland, 27 St. Dunstan's Hill, London, E.C.

# A Stormy Life ;

OR

#### QUEEN MARGARET'S JOURNAL.

PART II.

#### CHAPTER XLIII.

THE ABYSS.

ONCE more I look on that Channel sea which I have grown to think my enemy. Once more I scent its salt savour. Again the roaring of the wind, the hoarse booming sound of the billows breaking on the shore, and the sharp rattling noise of their retreat, besiege mine ears. O sea, adverse, disquieted, stormy sea! never one whole day at peace, how meet an emblem thou art of my heart and my life! There is a little fishing-smack tossing outside the harbour, the setting sun gilds its sails; but that huge rolling mass of clouds which will soon swallow up the golden orb shall rob the vessel also of its reflected light. So hath it been with me more times than I can number. In the midst of the rejoicings at Paris, where nothing was left undone to do us honour, and the Hotel of St. Pol was constantly filled with the highest persons in the State and in the Church, all vying to pay homage to our recovered royalty, how dismal were the tidings which reached me! The Duc de Calabre, my sole brother, the idol of King René, the glory of our race, the model of knights, the example of princes, died, alas, from a fell disease in Spain, where fortune was raising him to a throne. I should once have wept torrents of tears at this miserable hap; and now it hath killed my joy, but left me visibly unmoved. Yet when I am alone, and the thought of Monseigneur Jean forces its way into my mind. I find myself more sensible of his loss than I appear. O sweet brother, I loved thee well! God knoweth it, albeit I have not shed many tears for thee.

A slow fever consumes me. I should not care to live if once I could see Edward sure of his throne. My love he no longer needs, but my aid is more needful to him than ever. His Anne doats upon him with all the passion and tenderness which can be imagined; yea, even my hungry heart is satisfied with the worship she pays him, and he is more enamoured of her now than when they were married

six months ago. But he is nineteen, she seventeen. How should they steer their bark alone amidst the shoals of a dangerous sea? and what, is you dreadful England but a treacherous ocean of deceits and perfidies? God pity them! How happy they look! I can see them on the shore gaily pacing up and down, and ever and anon stopping to look into each other's faces with an incredible contentment. Well, they have both fair visages worth gazing on. kinglike is his attitude! How graceful her figure! She is no disparagement to him. Any monarch in the world might glory in her loveliness. How they laugh when the rough uncivil waves drive them back with their white foam! She tries to stand her ground, and plants her small foot on the sand, as if to defy the advancing tide. Ah, the foam hath touched the border of her dress; they retreat. How prettily she smiles at what he says! I ween he tells her she is like King Canute, and reads her a lesson on the impotency of monarchs. Now they have sprung up on the jetty, and are fighting with the blustering wind. Happy, careless wights, they see no evil omen in those frowning surges; they hear no dismal prophecies in the howling of the winds! They turn back; ay, I thought he would go into the church and give alms to all those beggars. He hath inherited all his father and his grandsire's proneness to prayer, and their bountiful spirits towards the poor. I, alas, take less and less comfort in devotion. Since my childhood a battle hath been waged within me betwixt two opposing spirits. If it were not heresy, I should think I had two souls to whom by some freak of nature one only body had been given, so fierce hath been the strife I speak of. Or else I am possessed, or God Himself fighteth with me. These waitings have been my life's curse. When in action the inward contest ceases, or I mark it not; but to sit still is horrible.

The last letters of the earl are imperative. The fate of the kingdom and our house turns, he says, on our speedy arrival. We must soon join him, or our cause is imperilled. "Only let the English see the Prince," he writes, "and all shall be secured. The King entertains no hopes for the future; and as he is by many deemed to be a prophet, they are dismayed at his silence. Clarence is useless and morose, my brother Mountague dejected; but if the Prince was

here, I should then fear nothing."

We must put to sea to-morrow. I care not what those cowardly sailors say. I will cross that hellish sea, though all the demons of the abyss should be conjured against us.

March 28d.

Well-nigh two months have passed of weary suspense. The story of my youth is rehearsed again with deeper and more acute suffering. Heart-sickening delays; obstinate winds; adverse elements fighting against me. Thrice we have embarked, thrice dared a raging sea; thrice been driven back, each time with loss to our ships, on this detested coast, and the fools about me cry out, "Witchcraft!" and talk of spells and sorcery until I go mad at their folly. And then devout persons say, "Give in, give in. 'Tis not God's good pleasure you should cross the sea; yield to these

visible tokens of His will;" and this angers me alike. It hath not been known or heard, or been on record in any past age, that this opposing wind should blow for more than seven weeks without ceasing, and with this violence. Each day I vainly look to its falling, each night I listen to its wailings in this ill-built house, until I think I hear it uttering distinct words, intermingled with fiendish screams. Once it was Clifford crying, "I am doomed for your quarrel;" and then close to mine ear, as if in a whisper, the word "Rutland" seemed to be uttered. Another time during the whole night the names of Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kyriel sounded to me as if repeated by the blast, and the word "Perjured, perjured," seemed driven by the hurricane through my brain. But the worst of these delusions—for I am not mad, and in the daytime I know them to be such-was when I saw the white bloody head of Anne's grandfather pass along the sky pillowed by black murky clouds. I fixed mine eyes upon it, transfixed with terror. Before it disappeared Lord Salisbury's features changed to those of Edward's wife; but in lieu of its wonted sweetness, I saw in her visage a look so melancholy and despaired that it was more horrorful to me than the gory head of her grandsire. And since that night, sometimes when I am looking at her, this expression seems to me to take the place of her own, and I turn affrighted away. It happened thus this morn; she and Edward came into my chamber to show me a great store of primroses which the March sun had caused to blossom in a sheltered valley behind the town. She had woven them in a pretty fashion, and said she should send them to the church for our Lady's image against the second morrow, for she had been wont to give her flowers on this feast in all her past years. Then she added, "Ah me! sweet Mother Queen, I marvel where we shall keep it next year?" Then I suddenly perceived, or thought I did perceive, that aforesaid change on her fair visage, and turned shuddering away. I heard her say sadly, "Sweet Prince, take these flowers away; the Queen mislikes them." "Ay, take away all the brightness and bloom from their young lives!" I mentally exclaimed. "My wretched doom is upon them. No joys can thrive nigh to me. Like the shade of a poisonous tree, my destiny darkens their dawn and withers their happiness."

I will embark to-morrow. Better perish in the waves than die despaired on this detested coast. But we shall not die. One more struggle with fate, one more defiance hurled at fortune, and the fight shall be done. Lady Warwick is like-minded; so is the Duchess of Clarence. Both have declared this life of expectancy is not to be endured. Only Anne turns pale, foolish wench, and fears to embark. "O, sweet Harfleur," she cries, "sweet Harfleur! dear shore, lovely sands, quiet nooks, which have been witnesses of my sweet prince's love for his poor wife; and I pray God he shall love her as well in a palace as in this plain hostelry and mean fishing village," She hath not the spirit of a queen; but God knoweth it is of little help in these times, and she may fare better than those whose hearts are set to a more lofty key. That sister of hers is made of another

metal, I trow. The pale proud lady visibly doth hate us sorely. Albeit she pineth to embark, yet she hath persuaded her mother to sail in another ship. Suspicious thoughts cross my mind that that fool her husband hath cunning enough to be false. Moroseness is an evil sign in small-brained, gibbering sots like Clarence. I have not drawn one free breath since this alliance with Yorkists and ancient traitors. Ah, the clouds are dispersing this eve; the sea is waxing calm. Would we were on it! If the wind keep straight this night, we shall sail at dawn. How short may the passage prove which shall end this torment!

April 12th, at sea.

Will none have so much pity as to cast me into the waves? I am the Jonas of this ship. None shall prosper which serve or sail with or cleave to me. The wind was fair when we embarked, the sea smooth, the skies sunny. But in less than three hours the horrible whistling began which presages a storm. The demons of the deep were on the watch. For fourteen days and fourteen nights they have buffeted us with unceasing fury. Nothing keeps me alive. I think, but the fever which burns my veins; for I can neither sleep, eat, nor drink, except when Edward forces me to it. I am sustained by his caresses more than by the loathed sustenance of a loathed existence. Time! time! O, I pray you, ye wise ones of the earth, what is time? Is there, in sooth, an end to all things visible? I once heard a preacher say that one moment in hell should seem endless to the damned. A wretch which had been dead only an hour appeared to one on earth, and asked how long he had been in the flames. He could not credit it should have been so brief a time; it had seemed to him like unto a thousand years. Methinks since I have been in this ship time hath ceased to advance. The storm abates not one jot. God only knoweth whither we are drifting.

The Abbey of Cerne, Easter-eve.

Once again ashore! Once more in England, O land sighed for and so hard to reach! At Weymouth no tidings could we learn, save that the usurper is marching to meet Warwick. A strange stillness seemed to reign in the air as we rode hither. The damp moistness thereof chilled my limbs, but quieted my brain. Here I have stretched myself on this poor pallet, and I write these lines as if I was not Margaret the queen, but only a shipwrecked, poor lonely woman cast on a foreign shore, without hope or cares or friends.

Easter Sunday.

Here the Queen ended her writing yestereve, as the bells were ringing for the feast. She let the book fall out of her hand. I thank God we are landed and in a religious house on this day. The monks and the peasants which came here for shrift last night are ignorant of all late haps, and Sir John Fortescue and Sir Henry, my brother, have vainly sought for news in the neighbourhood. We have kept the festival in a singular peaceful manner, half-way, as it

were, betwixt the raging sea and the turmoil of impending strife. After the Prior of St. John had said Mass, the Prince and Princess sat on a tomb nigh to the cloisters with a book on their knees, in which they sometimes read a little, and then stopped to converse. How sweetly he seemed to discourse to her, and with what a pretty reverence she listened to him!

Easter Monday.

The Princess called me after Evensong to stay with her whilst

the Prince was with the Queen.

"Lady Margaret," quoth she, "I am a little sad. The Prince said to me to-day, 'Sweet wife, we have had happy days in France—more blissful and delectable than can be thought of. Yet if it pleased God soon to take my life away, I should not grieve thereat only for thee.' I am frightened he is too good. When he had received this morn,—I cry God mercy for it,—but I could not choose but gaze on his face, it was so like unto an angel's. But yet I cannot think he will die before he is a king, for the most cunning woman in Yorkshire foretold long ago I should be one day a queen. And so with that I comfort myself."

Methought this was poor comfort; but this sweet lady is more winsome than wise. God ha' mercy on her if she should fall on evil times! Hark! there are quick footsteps in the cloisters. I write on, afraid to move. I ween news have come. I must needs

go to the Queen.

I went, and what a spectacle met mine eyes!—her majesty swooned away, lying in her son's arms, and the Princess, with a white face and trembling limbs, stood weeping beside them. My brother whispered in mine ear, as I remained aghast, "Lord War-

wick is slain and the King again a prisoner."

We all gathered in silence around the Queen's motionless form. We feared, I ween, to see her open her eyes. When she did so, her countenance became so wild I cannot describe it. She reviled the calamitous temper of these dreadful times, and said in an incredibly bitter manner, "O vain past useless labours, turned only to present deeper misery! I had rather die than live longer in this state of infelicity." And as she uttered these words she fell back again, looking so white and corpse-like that we were affrighted. The Prince, with the most tender caresses, revived her. One should have thought he had been an angel more than a man in this sad hour; and she was guided by him in all things as if living only on his sight. When she was a little restored to herself, he gave orders that our whole company should travel to sanctuary in Beaulieu Abbey, where we arrived this evening. Alas, here we have found Lady Warwick, who had landed at Portsmouth, and thence came to Southampton with intent to join the Queen at Weymouth; but on the road, hearing of her husband's defeat and death, she fled across the New Forest, and betook herself also to the protection of this sanctuary. When the Queen and the countess met, they seemed at first unable to speak. The widowed lady hid her face in the folds of her majesty's robes, who laid her hand on her bowed head,

uttering these words: "God ha' mercy on you, Lady Warwick! Who should have forecasted your lord would have perished in our quarrel? I pray God to assoilsie him." Then she added, "Where is the Duchess of Clarence?" A low moan was the answer.

"O mother, sweet mother!" cried the Princess, throwing her

arms round the countess's neck, "hath my sister left you?"

"O mine Anne," she said, "I have no daughter but thee. The wife of perjured Clarence hath fled to her false lord. God forgive them! My husband's death lieth at their door. God have mercy on them!" And these were all the angry words she said; but thence-forward her hair became gray, and she looked an aged woman.

The Duke of Somerset, his brother, and many of the Lancastrian nobles have arrived this morn, and found her majesty drowned in so great sorrow that she would hardly give them welcome, or raise her head from her pillow, say or do what they would to comfort her. The duke told her they had already a good puissance in the field, and trusted the presence of her grace and of the Prince should soon draw all the northern and western counties to the banner of the red rose. But her eye kindled not as of old at these speeches. She was as one that hath been struck to the heart. I could see a singular change in her haviour. The only thought in her mind was the Prince's safety, for which cause she said she had sought sanctuary.

"O, my lords," she cried in an impassioned manner, at last lifting up her head, "I pray you of your loyalty provide for the Prince's security. In my opinion no good can be done in the field this time, and therefore it will be best for me and the Prince, and such as choose to share our fortunes, to return to France, and there

to tarry till it please God to send me better luck."

"Heavens, sweet mother!" the Prince exclaimed, "this is a new thing that you should counsel retreat, when we have braved so many dangers to come hither. These noble lords look for other words from your lips than those ill-sounding ones touching safety, when honour and knighthood becken us onward to victory or death."

"Victory or death!" the Queen repeated in a dejected tone. "God knoweth I have often uttered those words. Methinks I knew not what they meant. Warwick used them when he took leave of me at Angers; Clifford before the rout at Towton; the Lord de Roos on the eve of the fight at Hexham. O, it hath always been death and never victory for the friends of Lancaster. If you are my friends, my lords, force us not from sanctuary, or else suffer us to return to France."

A burning flush overspread the Prince's visage.

"Good my mother," he cried, "have you forgot that the King is once again in vile durance? Have you lost courage when courage is most needed? O, be yourself again; and if you abide in sanctuary, which none can blame, let it be to pray for your son, who will not tarry for one hour longer in this Beaulieu, which is no Beaulieu to one who pineth to measure himself with the tyrant of his people and the sworn foe of his king and father."

She listened to these words without one spark of the wonted fire which used to burn in her whole aspect when the like sentiments

were expressed before her in bygone days.

"There will be no good done this time," she kept repeating, till a heavy gloom fell on the lords who had come with Lord Somerset; and he himself exclaimed at last, greatly displeasured, "There is no occasion, madame, to waste any more words, for we are all determined while our lives last still to keep war against our enemies." And so said they all, and the Prince made them great cheer. So she then arose from her couch in a staid manner, and said in an unnatural constrained voice, "Well, be it so." Since this moment, methinks she moves like one in a dream, or that walketh in sleep.

We travel this night towards Bath, and these noblemen affirm that the western counties be so loyal to the King, that a great army shall be in the field before the usurper knoweth whither his danger doth lie. If we but cross the Severn at Gloucester, and join Jasper Tudor's forces in Wales, victory is certain. The Countess of Warwick will hide here in sanctuary, but nothing will serve the Princess but to follow her lord. She hath a brave heart, albeit not an over strong

mind, this fair Anne.

Tewkesbury, May 3d.

The Queen cannot sleep, and she hath commanded me to bring unto her her journal-book and write what she shall tell me. I have sat here, pen in hand, well-nigh one half-hour, and yet she speaks not. We are all right weary with travelling, for we have journeyed night and day twenty-six long miles in a foul country, all in lanes and stony ways, betwixt woods, without any good refreshing; the other part of our host could not have laboured any further. Yet the Queen would have fain, I know, pushed on towards Wales, but Lord Somerset saith he will here tarry, and take such fortune as God shall send. Taking his will for reason, he hath pitched his camp in this fair park, and intrenched himself, sorely against the opinion not only of her majesty, but of all the most experienced captains of the army; so whether it be of election or no, we are verily compelled to abide, and the usurper with his forces is but distant one mile from us, the scouts report. At Gloucester the men would not suffer us to cross the bridge, which was as a death-blow to her majesty. Neither threats nor fair words availed. They were under the obeisance of the Duke of Gloucester, they said, and bound to defend her to pass. The Princess waxed as white as a sheet when that duke's name was uttered. "God deliver us from Richard!" she said, trembling; "I dreamed last night he killed my lord." "Dreams," I answered, "go by contraries; so it shall happen that your lord will slay the duke." Then she would open her office-book, a rare one which King René gave her, and therein she read these words: "Abroad the sword destroyeth, and at home there is death alike." When the Prince said, "What aileth thee, sweet wife?" she pointed to them; he crossed himself, and answered, "Though He slay me, I will trust in Him."

I write on, and the Queen speaks not; she hath forgotten her

intent. I pray God she forgets all, for verily the thought of the morrow is more than can be endured; albeit I pray, which I fear she hath ceased to do. O morrow, what shalt thou bring forth? O morrow, when thou shalt be to us yestereve, how shall we feel towards thee? What shall future chroniclers relate of thee? What shall this pen of mine record touching thee? O unknown, slowadvancing, resistless morrow, thousands of throbbing, watching hearts are awaiting thee. Their fast beating hurries not thy measured approach. The hours pass, the shades of night deepen, the horrorful stillness increases. I can ill brook even so much as to look at the Queen's visage. The Prince and the Princess, after saying their prayers, like two tired children have retired to rest. sobbed awhile; but he kissed away her tears, and told her he had been so happy with her for eight months that nothing could exceed it, and that he had prayed God to accept his life and give England peace, if it should please Him. She chided him for this prayer, and said she hoped God would not hear it. Then he said, "Yea, sweet Anne, death for me, peace for England, and for my mother and for thee-" I could not hear the end, for she stopped his mouth with her kisses, and hung about him and wept. Now I think they are both asleep, for there is no sound in the next room. The Queen hath ordered me to close the book and to lie down. God ha' mercy on us! Twelve of the clock hath struck; four hours more and the day will dawn.

The gray light of the morn doth now appear, and every one is astir. I write these words whilst the Queen is putting on her riding gear. At the door do wait the Prince, the Duke of Somerset and his brother, Lord Wenlock, Lord Devonshire, and the Prior of St. John. They are to ride with her grace about the field and cheer the men. Ah, now the Queen is apparelled, her cheek is flushed and her eyes sparkle again. The Princess seemeth scarcely able to sit her horse. Heavens! what a scowl is on Lord Somerset's visage! O God! what hath the Prior whispered in his ear which makes him glare like a tiger at Lord Wenlock! I must shut up this book, and hide it in my bosom till to-night. Where shall I

open it again?

#### CHAPTER XLIV.

"OUT OF THE DEPTHS I HAVE CRIED UNTO THEE."

From the Lady Margaret de Roos to the Countess of Vaudémont.

The Tower of London.

MADAME, now that the misfortunes of the Queen, your most dear sister and my most loved mistress, have arrived at their final extremity, and every spark of earthly hope is extinguished in her breast, I call to mind the promise I made you at Angers, that whensoever opportunity served I would inform you without disguise of the haps which should befall her majesty. Evil tidings travel swiftly, and I doubt not you have already been consternated by rumours and bruits touch-

ing the sinister events which have succeeded one another with so great and terrible a speed that I am astonished to find in myself any sense or memory left wherewith to describe them. A religious man who visits us in this dungeon will send this letter across seas, and I pray God it shall safely reach your grace's hands; albeit if the tidings it contains could be for ever concealed from your knowledge, then I should contrariwise pray it should never meet your eyes. Know then, noble lady, that one fortnight ago a fatal battle was fought at Tewkesbury, in which the Queen's forces were defeated with great slaughter, and one life lost of greater price than a thousand or ten thousand others of inferior value. The causes of this rout God only knoweth. It matters little now if madness or wicked treason led to this disastrous issue. The commanders of the Queen's army, the Lords Somerset and Wenlock, turned their weapons against each other in the most important period of the day, upon which their affrighted troops fled in wild confusion. The Prince, alas, with a desperate but inexperienced valour sought to rally these disbanded disheartened men; but in vain. When the Queen saw how the day went, and her most loved unique son plunge into the mêlée with a handful of followers, she waxed frantic, and would have rushed after him. But the violence of her agitation betrayed her courage, and she fell insensible from her horse. We carried her to a religious house in which she took refuge, as also did the Countess of Devonshire and her daughter. There she spent some hours in so great terror and weariness that it seemed as if nothing worse could ensue than this suspense. But let no one surmise that their misery cannot increase, for none may foresee what he shall yet endure before he dies. Towards daybreak a report came from a peasant that the Prince had been taken and murthered in the usurper's tent. None durst breathe this to the Queen or the Princess; but outside their lodging the rumour spread, casting every living soul in the convent into despair. I went in and out of the royal chamber with a composed visage and a breaking heart. Each time I entered, one or the other said, "What tidings?" or, "In God's name, is aught known?" and the like questions, which I could ill endure; for as the day went on the horrorful news of the Prince's death became confirmed by more certain reports; and if it were not an abominable sin for one to die by his own hand I would fain have laid violent hands on myself, sooner than awaited the hour when the Queen should learn the truth. Alas, it should have been well if with virtuous courage we had informed her gently of what she was soon to be told most ungently; for whilst we all stood transfixed with grief and apprehension, of a sudden Sir William Stanley, the most brutal man in the world, broke forcibly into the house and into her majesty's presence, and made her and the Princess his prisoners. The Queen asked him if her son was taken. "Yea," he savagely replied, "and despatched too." "Whither?" gasped the Queen. "To the other world," cried the caitiff, "by means of a dozen good Yorkists' swords plunged in his breast." The cry which burst from the Princess was not so horrorful as the Queen's silence. Her eyes started out of her head, and her

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hair stood on end. "Is this certain?" I said, striving to draw the cruel man aside; but he would not stir, and with a dreadful joy in his visage answered, "As true as I am alive; by the same token that I saw with mine own eyes the corpse of your so-called Prince with more gashes in it than would have killed twenty men. Sir Richard Croft captured and carried this traitor before the king, who gazed on him awhile, marvelling at his audacious haviour, and then asked him how he durst presumptuously to enter his realm with banners displayed against him. Upon which the graceless knave answered that he came forsooth to recover his father's kingdom and his own inheritance. His majesty struck him on the face with his gauntlet, and six loval swords leapt from their scabbards to stifle his treason in his blood. Clarence first stabbed him-" At these words the Princess gave another terrific shriek and fell, fainted, at the feet of the despaired mother, who, not reft of her senses by a benign swoon, but distraught by a most acute agony, fixed her eyes on that foul messenger with a gaze which forced him to turn away. Then there burst from her livid and foaming lips maledictions mingled with groans and cries, of which none which did not hear them could so much as imagine the horror; the pierced heart exhaling its anguish with a supernatural strength, as if through that frenzy Heaven spoke its own malison. Her arms were extended, her eyes dilated, her voice of so singular a loudness that it was heard outside the convent walls. We all listened trembling to those dread curses. "Edward Plantagenet" (these were her words), "the blood of my son be upon thee and on thy born and unborn children! Mayst thou have sons, that they may be butchered in cold blood and their groans haunt thee in thy unblest grave! Clarence, perjured, loathsome wretch, may thy end be as shameful as thy life! Bloody Gloucester, may thine be violent as thy deeds! If a child call thee father, let it perish miserably, and the woman which shall bear it die of a riven heart! The malediction of a despaired mother shall cleave to you, brothers of an accursed race; your doomed souls will sink deeper and deeper into guilt, and your fierce hands tear each other to pieces. May no priest shrive you in your dying hour! May your eyes close without a benison, and open in the lowest depths of hell, where fiends like yourselves await you." "Silence, foul-tongued blaspheming Queen!" Sir William cried, clasping his poniard; "add not treason to treason. Tremble for your own life." O, what a convulsive derisive shriek broke from the livid ashy lips of her poor majesty when this threat was uttered! "My life!" she cried. "O, man, if the monster you call king hath bid you kill me, peradventure I may yet have to thank that murtherer. But no; I am mad; I mistook your speech. It is not possible my son is dead. There is no one on earth so cruel that he could have killed him. The sons of kings perish not thus. You have always detested me; you said it but to torture me. Unsay it, and I will unsay all those curses; I will pray for the Yorkists, I will resign the crown, and return to France." "Ah, ah! resign the throne!" exclaimed the caitiff. "Madame, I tell you your son is dead and buried also by this time. My master is now your master,

and you and this so-called Princess my prisoners: you must c'en prepare to travel to Coventry. If the king spares your justly forfeited lives, then you shall, I ween, grace his triumphal march to London." So saying, without more ado, he turned on his heel and

without any token of respect for the Queen's presence.

O madame, where could a more piercing sight of sorrow be met with than was witnessed after the cruel herald of that matchless grief had departed? The Queen sat on the floor, whence she would suffer none to raise her. She fixed on me, whose own heart was riven, her large tearless, lustreless, dark eyes. "Is it true he is dead?" she said in so strange and wistful a voice, as if praying for God's sake I should say no, that all present began to weep. And the Princess opened her eyes and cried: "O sweet mother, sweet mother, he was too good to live! Would to God I was also But the Queen said nothing more. We laid her on a bed, where she remained, looking more like unto a corpse than a live person, till she was forced into a chariot and carried to Coventry. There we heard the victor had been so enraged by the reports of his . ungenerous servant touching the distraught bereft mother's maledictions that he had well-nigh resolved to put her to death; but either from policy or compassion he changed his purpose, and the royal prisoners followed in his train to London. The Princess clung to the Queen like a Ruth to a Noemi, and well should the miserable lady have said like that other mourner: "Call me not Noemi-that is beautiful; but call me Mara—that is bitter; for the Almighty has quite filled me with bitterness." I think she would have more keenly resented the shame and bitter humiliation of that dreadful journey, if her internal agony had not wrought in her an almost insensibility to outward circumstances. As we passed through the towns and villages many flocked to gaze on that fair ruin, that shipwrecked glory, that hapless sport of cruel fortune: some, I could discern, felt an ill-concealed resentment of her woes, which led them to cross themselves as she passed, and some of the women to wipe their eyes; but others of the viler sort hooted at her. She either did not perceive, or was indifferent to, these tokens of compassion or of scorn. Nor did she once notice the country through which we passed. The Princess shed many tears, and mostly when a fair scene or a joyous group met her eyes. It was pitiful to see one so young submerged in such a sea of woes; but the Queen's grief-what can be likened to it? She spoke only two or three times during this journey; once she said that if she should be with the King in London, she should be more of one mind with him than heretofore. Another time, when I essayed to whisper in her ear some comfortable words of prayer, she shuddered as if it pained her. When she had seen the King, she said, then peradventure she should pray. He seemed much in her thoughts; not in the same manner as in former times, but as if she looked to find in him some kind of help in her almost intolerable agony. For once again she said, "If I can but creep into his prison and hide me there, perhaps I shall sleep;" she had not once closed her eyes for many nights and days.

Well, at the last, madame, we came to London, and were conducted straight to this Tower, in which a dark and dismal lodging received the Queen. From the window thereof I could, howsoever, discern the King's apartment, and with comfort perceived his majesty's bird in its wonted place. I was most afraid of the effect which the news of the Prince's death should have produced on the poor King; for if his mental malady had returned, then how miserable should be that meeting for the Queen! It was six of the clock when we arrived, and soon afterwards the governor of the Tower came to the Queen's chamber. She asked if she could go to the King her husband, and if his majesty was in good health. He replied that King Henry was well and of good cheer. Thereupon a piteous cry broke from the Queen, as if she augured from those last words that his majesty was yet ignorant of the Prince's death. "Let me go to my husband," she cried; "my sole request is to share his prison; none but barbarians can refuse it." The governor said he durst not conduct her grace to King Henry's apartments without the king's license, but that the Duke of Gloucester was expected in a few hours, and perhaps he would The Princess waxed very pale when she give warrant for it. heard that duke named, and craved of the governor that he should send to her sister, the Duchess of Clarence, a brief letter she then wrote to her. When he had taken it and departed, she told me she had prayed her sister, if she loved God, to have her removed from the Tower, and concealed in the most humble place which could be thought of; yea, even disguised as a servant-maid, if needs should be, so that that duke should have no knowledge of her abode. "For, Lady Margaret," she added, "the devil himself is not more cunning or more powerful than that Richard; and one half of my present misery, even more terrible than the loss of my sweetest Prince-which God knoweth is sufficient anguish-lieth in my fear of his devices." Not long afterwards an order came for the removal of the Princess to the custody of the Duchess of Clarence, who bestowed her, as I have since heard, in an obscure house in the suburbs of London. The Queen took scanty heed of her departure, though the Princess hung about her sobbing and weeping. "Your majesty knoweth why I go hence," she timidly said. The Queen raised her head and answered, "God help thee; all thy happy days are over, nor hast thou seen the worst which shall befall thee." I wot not if she thought much or understood what she said.

Towards eleven o'clock at night there was a rumour in the building like of several men hurrying along. A singular tremour seized me,—strange, unexplainable, overpassing all terrors I had hitherto felt. It was as if a mysterious intimation was yielded to me of some great hap at hand. Once again, in about an hour's time, I heard the same noise again, and then a death-like silence reigned in our dungeon. I climbed unto the casement at about one of the clock, and looked towards the King's window; but the night was dark, and no light to be seen any where. The Queen was lying still, not asleep, but in a kind of stupor. When the light began

to dawn, I heard steps again in the vaulted passages; and towards five o'clock the gaoler set on guard over us unlocked the door, and beckoned to me to come outside the inner chamber, where I had been lying beside the Queen. One of the officers of the Tower, he said, craved speech with me. I looked up and saw a man with an exceeding pale and haggard face, who said, when he had motioned away the gaoler, "You are the Queen's lady?" "Yea," I answered. trembling like one in an ague-fit. "Then, in God's name," he said, "so deal with your mistress that she look not out of the casement at any time this morn, lest a ghastly sight meet her eyes." "Odd!" I cried, "what have they done?" "Slain King Henry. May God give them time for repentance who laid sacrilegious hands on the Lord's anointed!" he said, shivering. I stood gazing on him like one stupefied. I could neither move nor utter. "For five years," he said, "I have waited on that King who now lieth a corpse. A more sweet saint was never seen, nor a more foul murther ever committed." "How came it to pass?" I cried, ready to faint with horror. He replied: "The Duke of Gloucester came at midnight and asked if King Henry had been informed of his son's death and the Queen's capture. When he was answered nay, 'Then,' quoth he, 'we shall now see if this saintly fool will bless God like Job when he findeth himself stripped of all.' So saying, he entered the chamber wherein the holy king was at his prayers, and, wantonly disturbing him, began to jeer at his poor clothes, and his bird, and the few flowers he had nurtured through the winter, as if he had desired to draw from him some impatient words; but failing therein, he said it greatly marvelled him to see one so occupied with trifles when mighty events had come to pass in this land; 'for,' quoth he, maliciously eyeing the poor King, the false-named Prince of Wales is dead, and the proud Queen which would have drowned England in blood captured.' I shall never forget the King's visage when he had heard those cruel tidings-no, not if I live one hundred years; a grief so angel-like, so Christian a patience, never before was seen in one so afflicted. He looked up to heaven meekly, so much as to say, 'God's will be done;' uttered twice in a wistful manner his son and his wife's names; and presently baring his bosom, presented it to the murtherer." "He killed him, then?" I cried aghast. "Yea, at once pierced his heart; and when he fell back dead, wiped his dagger, and left the chamber without more ado than if he had cut the throat of a deer. I would not be in that man's place at God's judgment-seat, not if I was to be made a king to-morrow. He that killed King Henry killed a saint. And now they will carry his body to St. Paul's Church, to lie there in every one's sight, that all the Queen's party may be assured of his death. Ah, even now I hear the gates open!" I ran affrighted into the inner chamber. The Queen was standing on a bench, with her visage leaning against the iron bars of the window. I sprang to her side to draw her away, if needs had been, by force. It was too late. She had seen her husband's corpse carried forth, without singing or saying, uncovered on an open coffin. She uttered no word or cry, nor shed a tear, but

raised her hand to heaven, and stood like a carved image of woe, henceforth insensible and mute. I called for help; a leech was sent for, and her women came to succour her. An irresistible desire then seized me-not without some thought of future comfort to her poor grace—to follow this lamentable cortège which had issued from the Tower. By the aid of a friendly gaoler and the aforesaid officer I found no impediment thereunto, and overtook its march at a short distance from the gates. O God, methought I should have died when I first perceived the noble corpse lying bareheaded on the bier; but when I approached close unto it a singular joy filled my soul, and it seemed as if I could have intoned the Magnificat, so great was that glad-A very delectable perfume appeared likewise to scent the Yet it was a pitiful sight that royal body, in which two gory wounds were visible, whence the fresh-flowing blood cried murther as plainly as if they had tongues wherewith to proclaim it. But the kingly brow, the meek, restful, holy visage, breathed so sweet a peace that it is not credible what comfort it gave me. So Christlike was its aspect, that as the corpse was carried through Cheapside to St. Paul, surrounded by more glaives than torches, its passage became like a procession when holy relics are translated. Some bent the knee or crossed themselves, as it went by. Women wept aloud; many struck their breasts and cried, "God ha' mercy on us!" A few at first, and then others, growing bold by example, furtively approached the coffin and touched the dead limbs. At Blackfriars, where the wounds bled again, efforts were made to collect the blood from the stained pavement; and deep-mouthed curses on the murtherers were heard. When the body was exposed in St. Paul's Church, it is incredible how great a number of those persons who hastened thither to gaze knelt down to pray, and albeit most adverse to the Lancastrian king during his life, invoked him after his death. When the bruit of his violent death spread amongst the people, so great a resentment of his sanctity and horror of his murther arose, that King Edward and the Duke of Gloucester left London in haste, fearing some outburst from the citizens. And as the church continued to fill with devout mourners, orders were given to remove the fair corpse, which was done with unseemly speed by a party of soldiers from Calais. I followed the sacred relic to the river-side, and, by a singular hap, was suffered to enter the barge which was to carry the kingly body to its resting-place. As the shadows of evening were falling, and the melancholy moon beginning to shine on the quiet waters and fair banks of the Thames, the silent barge glided along with its saintly freight till it reached the Abbey of Chertsey, where, in an obscure manner, King Henry was that night buried. I knelt and kissed the mould which covered the poor grave, even as if a martyr had therein rested. Ah, madame! the honours which men denied to that tomb God hath showered upon it; and a more noble homage is rendered to Henry the Saint than was refused to Henry the King.

When I returned to the Tower I found the Queen sunk in the same silent despair. I told her of the singular ghostly beauty of the

King's dishonoured and yet how greatly honoured obsequies; but she would not hearken or cross herself, nor yet say "God's will be done;" but ever and anon wrung her hands like one to whom life is insupportable, and essayed to tear her hair, which is turned wholly gray since the fatal day of Tewkesbury. Night succeeded day, and day followed night, and no change was seen in her grace. Stupor succeeded to frenzy, and reviving memory renewed frenzy. Even her enemies were frighted at this living death, and the reigning queen sent her physician to report on the Queen's condition; but no leech howsoever learned could mend that disease of the soul, or

vield one hour's relief to a despaired heart.

One day, when she had repulsed all offers of prayers or priestly ministrations, and with a resolved anguish thrown herself on the ground, to lie there, she said, as became one whom God had crushed and whose hell was begun on earth, I left her presence almost brokenhearted. Free egress was now allowed to the Queen's attendants in and out of the Tower, and I went to pray at St. Saviour's Church, seeking comfort from God, who alone can give it in such straits. As I was coming out of the said church, there met me in the porch one brother Thomas, a simple holy man whom I had known in former years. With many signs of joy he greeted me; and when I said nothing could exceed the sorrows we had seen, "O my lady," he cried, "there is comfort enough for the sorest heart in Christendom in the great mercies which do happen at our holy King's tomb at Chertsey. O, I promise you more miracles have been wrought at his grave than should suffice to prove him a saint. The people flock thereunto from all the neighbourhood, and a store of sick persons are cured through his prayers."

As he uttered these words a thought came into my mind, for the which I shall bless God all my days. I took leave of that good friar, and walked quickly to the river-side. There I hired a boat to carry me to Chertsey. The day was very fair; a cool breeze rippled the water, light fleecy clouds coursed athwart the sky, the beauteous woods and green meadows cheered my sight, and the thought of God's goodness stole into my parched soul like a refresh-

ing dew.

"O my God!" I cried, "Thou who hast made this world so fair, Thou hast not doomed any soul to endless misery. Out of the depths save her for whom I pray; save the most lone and bereft

creature in this world from despair."

Then for weeping I could make no more audible prayer. But when I reached Chertsey, and came to the place where the holy King is buried, a blissful sadness filled my soul,—nay, a holy joy, transcending and overpowering grief. I knelt down and bathed the sod with tears of incredible sweetness, whilst one of the friars related to me how great had been the cures there obtained. Then I raised my voice and invoked that blessed departed soul which had been so virtuous and godly in life, and with many urgent entreaties besought the holy King to intercede for the loving and miserable wife he had left on earth. I doubt not that this prayer was heard, and a great

miracle of grace wrought in that hour; for, let those who read this believe it or not as they list, when I returned to the dungeon where I had left my mistress so resolved against prayer and haughty towards God, I found her with a changed visage, down which tears were flowing, her eyes closed, and her hands clasped. The Bishop of Winchester was kneeling by her side, weeping likewise; but when I entered he smiled and signed to me to approach.

"Behold," he said, gently pointing to the pale haggard face of my poor Queen,—"behold a great battle hath been fought here.

God hath conquered. His child hath bowed to His will."

Then the Queen raised herself, and slowly in broken accents,

very solemn and mournful, she spoke these words:

"My God, I have fought against You from my youth up. Against You, You only, I have sinned. From the depths I cry unto You now,—from the lowest depths of an incredible misery, for You are more mighty than I. The might of Your judgments is upon me. O heavens! they are crushing, resistless, agonising"—her lips quivered, and she added, "and just, my God." She took my hand and said, "I have been shriven, dear friend. When my lord of Winchester first spoke to me of confession, it sounded to me like mockery, for I was resolved for ever to hate and curse those murtherers; but, Nathan-like, that man of God hath shown me mine own sin, and God in that hour changed my heart. I can forgive now; I have forgiven them all. O my lord of Winchester, I am no more the Queen—no more Marguerite of Anjou, but the most poor, lone, weak, sinful creature on earth, from which God hath taken all He once gave her."

"For the one sole end," he replied, "that the heart which He created for Himself, and which hath so long fought against Him, should love Him at the last, and turn to Him like a penitent child."

"My lord Bishop," she then said, "are you assured that my lord the King and my sweet son are in heaven?"

"I firmly credit it," he answered with emotion.

"Then," she exclaimed, a gleam of her old expression passing over her face,—"then, so help me God, I will be there one day also, even though I should have to pass through a fiery furnace to reach it! Yea, I will pray for and cherish all the sufferings which shall speed me on that road. I will fight with myself as I have fought against mine enemies. I will love this dark prison, its poor fare, its lack of every comfort. I will thank those which shall insult and illuse me, for they will be my props and succours in this enterprise. O my lord, the most defeated, abandoned, betrayed woman in this world, Marguerite the widow and the reft mother, shall yet be a conqueror!"

#### CHAPTER XLV.

PER CRUCEM AD LUCEM.

THE passages which follow are transcribed from the book in which, from time to time, the Queen wrote during her captivity, but

with so trembling and feeble a hand that the most part of it was illegible. Only here and there at intervals I deciphered what I now copy.

(This was written in the last days of June, of the first year of

her imprisonment:)

The sight of this book causeth me a mortal sickness of the heart; but with an effort like unto that of a patient who receives from a physician's hand a loathsome remedy, I constrain myself to trace a few lines on these blank pages, of which yet a few remain unsoiled by the recording pen of bygone years. Since I noted old triumphs over earthly foes, and defeats sustained at their hands, I would now set down the various haps of the great fight I waged of late with

Satan, and his ally mine own proud breaking heart.

O God, what fierce torments I endure! what surging tides of revengeful hatred, billows of impotent rage, mighty currents of despair, loaded with defiant curses, do batter and undermine the newmade walls of recent resolves! I should ere now have died by mine own hand, and rushed unbidden, doomed by mine own act, to hell, if through an opening in the sky, visible through the grated bars of this prison, I had not often seen, or thought I saw, a hand stretched out holding a cross, on which these words were scrolled: In hoc signo vinces.

Time goes on. There is a barrier betwixt me and all human love and care. Even my father hath forsaken me. I shall perish, and none shall weep or pray, save a few poor servants, for Marguerite d'Anjou, once the most loved and praised princess in all the world. I look round on this dark chamber at mine own self, at the gloomy sky and sullen river, and wonder if these should be the pains of purgatory which I endure. O God, even so let it be! Is not the fiery agony in my bosom a flame sufficient to cleanse from sin? I welcome it, then. Suffering, be thou my balm—misery, my solace—hopelessness, my hope!

(Some time afterwards the Queen received this brief note from the King of Sicily by the hand of one Montrobert, who obtained

access to her chamber:)

"My child, may God help thee with His counsel, for rarely is the aid of man tendered in such reverses of fortune! When you can spare a thought from your own sufferings, think of mine. They are great, my daughter; yet I would fain console thee."

(She wrote beneath the copy of this letter:)

My father, are these the only words of comfort thou canst give me? Poor aged man, poor broken-hearted king, thy gray hairs are going down with sorrow to the grave! Griefs have been thy companions all thy days; but pitying angels have marched alongside of them; and I ween the least of mine have gone deeper into my soul than the worst of thine into thy gentle heart. Yea, Isabel de Lorraine died, and Jeanne de Laval took her place. Yea, thy first-born, Jean de Calabre, is no more, and René de Vaudémont and Blanche

of Anjou are dead; but devotion, and music, and poesy, and limning, and the gay savoir of the sunny South take their place, and enshrine their images in wreaths of roses and reliquaries adorned with gems. Forget, poor father, forget her who was once the joy of thy soul and the light of thine eyes; picture not to thyself the pale spectre, the despaired prisoner, which was once thy Marguerite. Wouldst thou console her? Ah, you cannot recall the past—you cannot, King René, bring back the days when she sat on your knees at Tours, and you called her for the first time "La petite Reine d'Angleterre"! O youth! O hope! O life! you were wondrous fair, but deceitful traitors, every one of you!

(Later on, after a most singular visit received in the Tower of

London:)

Strange, passing strange, hath been this day's meeting! O, very strange is this world, with its justices and injustices, its hatreds and its relentings! Was it that painted queen, vain flourish of my greatness,\* which was truly here an hour ago, weeping at my feet, and I, O heavens! weeping with her? I must needs set down what passed in this interview, or to-morrow I may wake and think it is a dream.

The Governor of the Tower opened the door of my chamber, ushered in a veiled person, dressed in black, and then hastily withdrew. I gazed in silence on this motionless figure; at last she un-

covered her visage, and said:

"Madame, I am the unhappy one who is what once you were,

but who can never forget what you were and what she was.'

Verily this was the wife of the usurper, mine own servant in past days. I fixed mine eyes upon her as she stood before me, and did not rise, but crossing my arms on my heaving bosom, I said,

"What seek you here, Elizabeth?"

She fell down on her knees, nay, rather threw herself down on the ground at my feet, and cried,

"The repeal of that curse !"

"What!" I exclaimed with all the rushing passion of repressed but now loosened fierceness; "what, have curses power to fright you on your blood-stained throne? Does the voice of Edward's mother, of Henry's wife, ring in your ears as you lie by the side of the assassin? And when you bend over the beds of your doomed children, do you see blood flowing from their breasts? Do you see an avenging angel of darkness hovering by their side?"

She gave so dreadful a shriek that it struck me dumb.

"O, repeal that curse!" she faltered.

I did not answer, and then she grew eloquent. This is, methinks, what she said, all the while clutching my gown as if a hope-

less prisoner could escape from her:

"Madame, for the sake of God and His holy Mother, pity me! If to have known the extremity of human agony teaches one to feel for another; if the most god-like thing on earth is to forgive; if none can enter heaven but such as pardon even an unrepentant

<sup>\*</sup> Shakespeare.

enemy; if you would ascend whither two angelic spirits have preceded you,—O, greater in this dungeon than ever on a throne, more powerful to doom and to absolve than the sovereign of this realm, O, injured, broken-hearted, terrible Queen, grant my prayer; repeal this curse, which is spread like a pall over my innocent children! Set your feet on my neck; I lie at your feet; tread on me, spurn me, but recall that curse!"

As her words fell on mine ear, contrary passions swayed my soul. It seemed as if I held in my hands the doom of the abhorred race of Edward of York; and demons whispered, "Curse them again; call down upon them God's judgments." But then, with her old cunning, or else a mother's instinct, she exclaimed, "O sainted king, O holy Henry, pray for me!" And before me rose (perhaps with her witcherafts she evoked it) the patient, meek, noble face of my slain husband; and at the same time came a sudden singular softening of heart, which was like unto the calming of a stormy sea through the prayers of a saintly soul, or the driving away of foul spirits from a possessed person. I raised that mother from the ground, and made her sit by my side. A strange sadness stole over me, different from any I had hitherto felt; a singular compassion, albeit unmixed with any esteem for her.

"God have pity on you," I said in a tremulous voice, which sounded to me not like unto mine own; "God have pity on you, Elizabeth Woodville; God have pity on you, widow of the Lord Grey; mostly, God have pity on you, wife of Edward of York! I pray the good God to pardon me that, in an hour of sorrowful despair, I pronounced a curse on your innocent children, and prayed they might perish as my son perished. I cry mercy to Him, and that He may show it to me; I cry also mercy to you, that in that unchristian passion of grief I desired this doom for the sons of my son's murtherers. Listen, I will retract that prayer."

"God bless you, madame!" she murmured. Then I knelt down, with the crucifix in my hand, and said, "O Lord God, visit not on the children the iniquity of the father. Spare this woman's sons whose husband spared not mine. Let not my bold, rash words avail against them in this life, nor against myself at Thy dread judgment-Then as I rose again a mournful feeling seized me, as if I had forecasted this present prayer should not be heard, and that my lips had uttered in their agony a true doom and inevitable prophecy. "Now go," I cried to this poor usurper of my former state; "now go, and carry with thee these words, which methinks God impels me to say to thee. If the sincere prayer I have now made hath no avail; if the divine justice, despite those I shall continue to put up, pursues thy children; if thou shouldst taste one day the horrible anguish I have known,—then bethink thee, miserable successor of my throne and of my woes, that there is but one plank of safety to which a despaired soul can cling in the midst of an ocean of unutterable misery—the cross of Christ!"

(This which followeth was writ some months later, after the

Princess of Wales, the Duchess of Clarence, and others, had been

suffered oftentimes to visit the Queen:)

"I will see no more those two young fair women which glide into my dungeon like memory's emissaries and the world's deputies. Anne, with her wistful blue eyes, which, like the forget-me-not flower, seem ever to speak of a dead hope and a buried love; and Isabel, whose indignant soul since her father's death loathes the house of York and the mean idiot her husband: who, like a vision of mine own young self, kindles the embers of passionate resentments, and, with one flash of her proud eye, relights the expiring flame, wellnigh extinguished in my breast by hard penance. No; I will bid farewell to those fair types of old loves and old hatreds. They stir mine heart too deeply. They picture to me my sorrows, my passions, my dreams, and my despair. I will have no other company but my God; no solace but my crucifix; no comforts but my prayers; no joy but penance long and sharp.

When I told them I would see them no more, both wept. They have a singular love for this fallen piece of greatness, which I am. Anne looked sorrowfully in my face and said, "Sweet mother, take not from me the living though aged portrait of my lord." Isabel spoke not at first; her bosom heaved as mine was wont to do in days of yore. Then she broke forth: "O Queen worthy of the name, queen greater in this dungeon than on the throne, wherefore do you

banish me? I would fain learn from you to conquer fate."

"Learn from me," I replied, "that fate is a vain word, which, if it meaneth aught, doth signify God's will. Take this lesson from one who would not bend before that will, till it shattered to pieces the whole fabric of her hopes. Go to—go to, poor noble wenches; prepare your souls for suffering far from me, in whose breast storms have too lately raged for peace to flow from it into yours. Leave me to God and solitude; leave me to pray and to atone. Would my hands were as clean as yours from blood-guiltiness!" Then the voice of my guardian angel, I ween, whispered to me, "Make atonement now. Bow down and confess." "Before you depart," I said to the two weeping sisters, "I will do penance at your feet;" and, falling on my knees before them, I exclaimed.

"I cry you mercy, Isabel and Anne, that I ordered the death of

your grandsire, old Lord Salisbury!"

"O Queen!" cried Isabel rassionately, straining me to her breast, "God forgive my father his sins against you; and, O God, forgive

me who betraved him and you!"

Anne kissed me several times; and now I shall see her no more. She goeth to the archbishop her uncle, who will defend her against Richard Gloucester,—the cruel hawk which ever hovers over the poor fluttering dove.

(When the Queen was moved to Windsor by the strenuous efforts thereunto of the reigning queen, she wrote at night these words:)
"O ill-devised kindness! O miserable compassion, which hath

wrought this exchange from the dark befitting dungeon of the old Tower to this seat of sweet memories and past glory! Fatal fair Windsor, where, under an evil star, my murthered King was born; whither I came a bride, where I now return a desolate captive widow, the prisoner of my subjects, the forsaken of men, and I pray God not of Him also! The fane of Eton meets mine eyes from this window where I now sit, and the sound of its bells reaches mine ear like a long-unheard voice. O verdant meads, and soft-flowing waters! how long shall you flourish-how long flow? How many hundreds of years shall you witness the sports of children and the pageantries of kings? How long shall Mass be said for the just and for the unjust, for the evil and for the good, in yonder hallowed fane devised by my sweet saint? O that they had borne me to that other shrine of Chertsey, in howsoever mean a place, to dwell by those sacred remains, which I pray God one day to remove where kingly honours shall be paid to them! For this I live, and for the hope that ere I die the meekest king which ever sat on a throne shall be placed by the Church on her altars. He is e'en now one of God's and of the people's saints; his name in their prayers, his tomb a pilgrimage. Alas! I have dwelt on this thought in the long, sleepless hours of the night; but yestereve a painful fear arose in me, that, as David was not suffered to build a temple to the Lord God because his hands were stained with blood, mine shall not be found pure enough to engage in this holy pursuit. O God, my God, most benign and merciful! since the day on which I recalled that curse on my enemy's children, wholesome agonies have pierced my soul. Before me rise in dread array those whose deaths I ordered or caused, righteously I thought until now, but presently showing like foul murthers. The anger which heretofore was vented on my foes now turns against mine own self, because I have not a pure heart and clean hands for the great task and end I pursue. But shall I then despair? No; for sorrow cleanseth, penance restores innocence, alms redeem sins. So, welcome kind helpful sorrow; and penance, do thou befriend me! Iron that is rusty may be scoured; and, as I have through pride lifted up myself, so will I pluck down my heart through humility, and willingly become a mocking-stock unto the world. Alms, alas! I have none to give; but if God yield moisture to mine eyes and some poor share of pelf to my keeping, I vow to make atonement for my evil deeds; and then peradventure He shall suffer me to sue for my lord's honour beyond the grave who was so little honoured in his life. And touching tears, it is not said, my Lord Jesus, that You shed any in Your agony, but yea, that You sweated blood therein. Behold, sweet Lord, the source of tears is dried up within me, and nought save a miracle like unto that in the desert, when Moses struck the rock, can bid them again to flow. But I have blood yet in these veins. Take it, my God; let it corrode and change! Let it be no longer healthful, but poisoned! Let it disfigure this outward form Let Marguerite d'Anjou become a sight of -once a fair one. horror, from which men shall turn with loathing; so that her soul is

saved as if through fire, and, clean in the sight of angels, her pleadings be heard at Rome on earth and by God in heaven!

(At Wallingford Castle, whither the Queen was quickly removed from Windsor and placed under the keeping of the good Lady Surrey, she heard of the persecution of the Princess of Wales, and that she was compelled to marry Lord Richard Gloucester; upon

which news she wrote this:)

I thank God that He hath instructed me to look upon the most keen thrusts of fortune as treasures wherewith pardon for the past and hope for the future may be bought. For otherwise how should my soul revolt in this hour, and break the bounds of human patience, at the loathsome hap which forces Anne into the arms of the killer of her life, the murtherer of her love! In vain hath she fled from his detested suit, in vain hid herself under the disguise of a poor serving-wench, or taken refuge in the sanctuary of my Lord of York's palace. I have ever been fatal to all who loved and cleaved Through the accusation of correspondence with my friends this prelate hath been cast into a dungeon, and the Ruth of a most miserable Noemi falls a prey to brutal force and detestable love. O ill-omened nuptials! O blood-stained festivities! Miserable Anne! More terrific is thy fate than mine own, and mysterious God's dealings with thee; I thank Him, even in the extremity of my woes, that a like trial befell me not, for my brain would have been maddened, and I should have been like to murther the wretch in his sleep.

(A few days later the Duchess of Suffolk, willing to divert her majesty's thoughts from that new painful theme, carried her across the boundaries of the park to her own manor of Ewelme, and that

night the Queen wrote what followeth:)

More liberty is now allowed to the hapless she-wolf of France than heretofore. Methinks they perceive that she no longer wageth an earthly warfare or detests her foes, as in past days. The poor wolf—if such she ever was—has lost its fierceness, and, like the one at Gubbio which St. Francis made a peace with, is robbed of all its terrors. She hath a work to compass, and her enemies help her to it. Lady Suffolk learnt this lore many years ago, and tutors me now in this new school. We talked thereon to-day the while we walked under the trees nigh to the parish church which her slain lord rebuilt. It is a comely piece of work, standing on a fair hill, and hard adjoining to it is founded a pretty hospital for two devout priests and thirteen poor men to dwell and be sustained in it for ever. It is a fair little God's house, which it liked me well to see; and we passed by the school, which is such a one as this lady's grand-sire Master Chaucer described in his poesies:

"Little scole of Christen folk that stood
Down at the further end in which there were
Children in scores that came of Christen blood,
And learned within that schoolhouse, year by year,
Such kind of dootrine as men used there;
That is to say, to sing and to read
As all small children do in their childhood."

Ah, me! is it credible, when one has suffered and sinned for wellnigh fifty years, that once it was a child's heart which throbbed in a frame now so worn-out and shattered?

(Montrobert's arrest in Brittany, and the misunderstanding of the Queen's letters to her father, to which hidden meanings were falsely ascribed by the council in the king's absence, who then was in France, and treating with King Lewis for her liberation, caused her majesty to be brought back in haste to the Tower, where she wrote thus:)

Once more in this old prison of kings and princes! I would not exchange it for any other lodging, save only a religious cell, where the whole world should forget me! What sights these walls have seen and yet shall see! for men are alike in all ages, and there is little mercy in their hearts—not even in a woman's, if God's spirit

doth not guide her. O that I had never been a queen!

(Some time afterwards she wrote in cipher:)

I have seen Pembroke, who is concealed in London, and hath young Richmond with him. He sought to awaken in me thoughts of revenge and new ambitions. But his efforts, like unto spent shafts, took no effect on the dead surface of my heart. They go to Brittany this night, and he carrieth with him a letter from me to my father, which I pray God may reach him, and that I may obtain freedom to exchange this prison for a convent, where God is served by pure spotless souls and likewise remorseful sinners.

(And she added shortly afterwards:)

O my God, will blood for ever flow in this land by reason of my poor name and life! Falconbridge and Oxford, and now poor Exeter, have perished. I thought my heart was dead; but these violent, and one of them unhallowed, deaths pierce and prove it alive.

(And then further on:)

I stand accused in the absence of the king (I take for my sins the pain of that word's writing) of a plot with the lords in Brittany. My afflicted letters are distorted, and each word of sorrow reads as conspiracy to Hastings and his creature Nash. Be it so; I will stand a poor prisoner at their bar, and answer their charges gently; gently as one who hath sinned and needs forgiveness at the great judgment-seat of God. And yet—I, Marguerite! the Queen!

O my God, the conflict deepens! Give me the victory!-old

familiar words.

No, I am not to stand before the council. One has defended the cause of Marguerite d'Anjou; one has pleaded for King Henry's wife, King René's daughter; one has been her friend. O heavens, this schooling is strange, these lessons severe! Who should have forecasted this new trial of royal and womanly pride? I owe this grace to the king's mistress, to the courtezan Jane Shore! Well,

be it so. I kneel and bow my head and my heart in the dust. Yea, let the public sinner befriend the fallen queen. God knoweth, she may take precedency of her in heaven, and her prayers help the guilty Marguerite at that great bar where many first shall be last, and many last shall be first.

(When the Queen's liberation was announced to her, which had been procured by the good, albeit not disinterested, efforts of the

French king, she wrote:)

And so it hath come at last, this freedom long deferred and not greatly desired. These four long years are ended: so will life terminate one day, and the soul be set free as now the body. My prison had become too sweet for a penitent. Time there was when despair haunted my solitude; when sleep was dreadful, and waking terrible; when the ghosts of those I had doomed to death, and the more gentle ones of such as had perished in my quarrel, were wont to pass before me at night in sad horrorful array; when spectral battles were fought in this chamber, and dead men came and sat with me, looking alive, and yet with gory wounds in their breasts, or else headless. But Margaret de Roos bethought her of sprinkling holy water about my bed, and prompted me to call on Christ and cross myself when these visions came. Since then they seldom haunt me; and if they do, I give them a gentle welcome, and pray if they be not lost, but only suffering souls, that they should pray for me; and so they depart in peace.

(At Greenwich palace, where the Queen resided three days before her departure, and license was given to all who craved it to kiss her hand and take leave of her grace, of which many persons, and some which were once her enemies, did with great zeal take advantage,

she wrote these sentences:)

O singular sojourn! O new method of suffering! O more perfect humbling than could be easily devised of a proud heart! here in this mine own palace I have once again played the queen. and nobles have come to gaze on the banished Queen: some pitiful, some curious, some peradventure with an old fidelity yet alive in their hearts. I would fain have stolen away like a thief in the night, veiled this changed visage and withered form, stood alone on the English shore, and cried to it a last farewell from the depths of a broken heart. But other counsels prevailed, and in the state-chamber of this old palace I received my whilom subjects, showed them my gray hairs, my sunken cheeks, and my eyes no longer bright. The most of them were young; for death, like a ruthless mower, had cut down their fathers in their prime. Those who had seen me young were mostly in their graves. One or two there were who had survived the civil wars. In their aged eyes methought tears were to We learn lessons insufficiently when alone and untempted. I had often conned at my prie-dieu the one which teaches to kill resentments, and thought I had been perfect in it. But when Clarence came with his wife into my presence, that hard-earned lore forsook

me for an instant. The struggle was fierce and brief. When his lips touched my hand, I shuddered, but did not recoil. The poor soul, his wife, looketh the picture of misery. Alas! the most miserable on earth are not always those which have lost all.

(This is the copy of a letter which the Queen received from the Duchess of Gloucester the night before she left England:)

I dare not, madame, call you mother. I dare not approach your majesty, even in this final hour of your doleful English sojourn, to press a last kiss on your royal hand, for the sight of the poor Anne, which was once so welcome to you, must needs be abhorrent now. Yet on my knees, alone in God's presence, I bid your majesty a last farewell. She who was once Edward's wife from the depths of her singular misery crieth, "God bless you!" Neither for your highness nor for me can earth smile again. Long I struggled; long delayed my wretched fate; long hid myself in low disguises; and finally, dragged my Lord of York, my poor uncle, into disgrace and death. But at the last force triumphed, and to preserve my honour I became what I am. O Queen, O mother! you did not curse me nor my unborn children?—you did not pray God to visit on them the crimes of their father? O, if you did, unsay that curse, for I am about to be a mother; and may the love and the grief and the passion of my heart, which hath lived in it all these years, stamp on my infant's face the likeness of my true lord, and Richard's child have Edward's visage! May the likeness of my worshipped prince live in my hapless babe! O mother, Queen, I must needs love my child! Hate me not for it. I made a wild prayer in those days when I first saw my lord the Prince in Paris. I vowed if I might be his wife, if only for so much as one day, that I should gladly suffer afterwards the most horrorful fate life could inflict. Methinks God took me then at my word. Madame, when you behold again fair Angers and the river Mayence, and the palaces near it, mostly Reculée, think of me, I pray, with pity; for albeit my name is changed for a detested one, I am yet Anne Neville, and the love which began on the love day in London hath never flitted from my breast for one hour. It is a sacred and a buried one. Thank God there is another world, where those who, like your majesty and her poor servant, have been the chosen marks of adversity shall meet and no more suffer.

### THE END OF THIS BOOK.

Convent of the Poor Clares at Vannes.

I am now, in mine advanced years, a postulant in the religious house which Jeanne de Kersabiec entered in her youth, and where Monseigneur Gilles de Bretagne is prayed for every day. God hath, I hope, given me a true vocation to this life, and in a few days I shall put on the habit of St. Clare. Methinks, before I take this solemn leave of the world, of which few have seen greater ups and

downs, it should be well to write somewhat of the last years of my dear royal mistress, whose eyes I closed, and whose memory I venerate with a singular admiration. She did not write any more in her Journal after we landed in France at the beginning of January 1476; but she would sometimes ask me if I had set down aught touching her sufferings, and the peace she had found since I had prayed for her at her husband's tomb. O God! what a change was wrought in that Queen since, as she was wont to say, One more mightful than herself had conquered in the strife she had waged with Him since her childhood! Yet she was not so wholly altered but that some traits of her old character were sometimes visible; only its force was turned against herself, and she showed as great an eagerness to endure a suffering or a humiliation as heretofore to gain a triumph or crush a foe.

On the day when Sir Thomas Montgommery took her to Rouen and resigned her to the French ambassadors, she was called to sign a renunciation to the crown of England, which she did with so meek a grace that it drew tears from the eyes of the witnesses. She would by no means be styled the Queen Marguerite. "Nay," quoth she, "I am no queen now, but only 'Marguerite, formerly in England married." And when she had to name the king, she styled him the present King of England, with only a glance to Heaven, the source of all her hope; for it was now nothing to her, she said, who reigned or who despoiled her. She renounced likewise to King Lewis all her future rights to her father's dominions; and I heard her say, as she laid her head that night on the pillow, "God had given and God hath taken away all earth can supply; now He hath given what neither earth nor Himself will take away." Then, as the chimes of St. Ouen fell on her ears for the first time for many years, a tear rolled down her cheek. "Methinks," she murmured, "I have got a little child's heart again, to be so pleased with those bells. I seem to hear them repeating rhymes:

'Adieu, bonheur!
Salut, malheur!
N'ai plus d'espoir
Plus de déboire!
Amour au ciel
Et jamais fiel.
O doux revoir!
Plus de déboire.'"

As long as the bells rang she sang these words in a low voice.

The Queen had purposed to pass through Paris to thank the king her cousin for his good offices touching her liberation; but he sent her a discourteous advice not to come thither, and to proceed straight to her father's dominions; and he offered her an escort on the way, which she refused, and was like to have perished in consequence. For as we passed through a district where there was a settlement of English in a miserable plight, they got wind that she was the Queen Marguerite returning to her father. Loud murmurs rose amongst them, and they cried she was the cause that England had lost

France, and sought for to kill her. This danger moved her not in the least. Fear had no access now to her heart. She said death at these ruffians' hands should have been welcome as the best ransom she could offer for her sins, which now were ever uppermost in her thoughts. She thirsted for penance as she had once done for greatness. When some soldiers had rescued her from this peril, she looked on these malcontents with an angerless eye, and from her

ill-filled purse sent them some relief.

The meeting betwixt her and the aged king her father at the castle of Reculée drew many tears from him and tokens of tenderness. But after a while, albeit a great mutual love did bind them, a diversity of character, which was chiefly to be observed in their manner of sorrowing, led to a partial separation. The castle of Queniez, which he gave her, again became the Queen's habitual residence. Once she said to me, after spending some days at Reculée: "My father seeks to reawaken in me the love of music and poesy and sculpture, in which he finds his great solace. He would fain lead me to the contemplation of Nature's beauties and Art's wonders. But the chords are broken, the notes are dumb which once responded to these themes. What are the sunset's hues and the glow of the early dawn to one whose eyes, when raised at all, can rest on nothing nearer than God's throne? What are carved images or rare paintings to one who ever sees before her two royal, princely, pale visages, with fair beautiful eyes waxed dim, white naked breasts, and bloody red sides? What is music to her ears who listens through long sleepless nights to the imagined cries of the wounded and the dying, or to the harpings of angels driving away those discordant sounds? I look at my father's aged gentle face, untouched by stormy passions, serene and fair in its decay, and albeit I sometimes long to crouch at his feet or hide myself in his arms, as in my childish days, pouring forth the untold sufferings of a lacerated soul, I still forbear from this cruel solace, and leave him to his gentle works of mercy, seasoned with ingenious art and poetic gracefulness. O, my poor friend! thank God with me that there are not many of the hearts which He hath made who have needed like unto mine to be saved as if by fire !"

At Queniez she spent all her time in prayer, fasted much, and gave alms of her poor means. Twice she went to Paris to the Sejour d'Orleans, a house King Lewis had given to her. This was to procure the sending of a petition to Rome for the King her husband's beatification. She was visited in her solitude, I think, two or three times by the young Earl of Richmond. She wished him well, I ween, and gave him always her benison; for the holy King, her lord, had prophesied, she said, he should one day be the King of England, and she doubted not it would so happen, since it was

a saint foretold it.

The Queen often said her life was not hard enough to please her, that she longed for a yet heavier cross, and spoke of a prayer she had made in London for a singular suffering which she looked for before her death. And verily it came, in the shape of a fell disease

which affected her whole frame, and turned that visage, once so peerless, into a spectacle of horror to all save those who loved it too much to be frighted by it. Then was seen a touching instance of God's grace overcoming nature (which rebelled at this infliction, and endured a cruel martyrdom therefrom). She exulted in this token that her long prayers had been heard and this hard sign thereof granted. O, my Queen! in your disfigured aspect, to any eyes but mine utterly changed-in your sunken hollow eyes, in your livid visage, in your holy gladness and peace-methought I saw, day by day. Christ's passion rehearsed and His meekness copied. Since by much tribulation heaven is won; since singular misfortunes are needed to hallow fiery souls; since this world is but a school for a coming one,-we should not weep for you, my Queen, or for the like royal or obscure sufferers of this or any other age. But as by your death-bed I stood, and closing your eyes uttered the words, "Requiescat in pace," so we may say them of all who, after long fighting in the world's service, grow weary thereof, and then, yielding themselves to God, find rest unto their souls.

This, my mistress, who had known the extremities of greatness and humiliation, of joy and of sorrow, of beauty and disfigurement—who had been so loved and so hated—one while exalted to the skies, then cast into an abyss—she, this royal wight, this great-hearted lady, made this last bequest to the heiress of her name and of her loveliness, Marguerite her niece. In her own Missal, which she gave her, Marguerite d'Anjou wrote with her dying hand these words:

<sup>&</sup>quot; Vanité des vanités, tout la vanité!"

# Scenes from a Missionary Journey in South Zmerica.

#### III .- THE RHINE-LANDERS IN BRAZIL.

It is not above a hundred years since this province of Rio Grande do Sul began to be settled by European immigration. Until the second half of the eighteenth century it was a wilderness untrodden save by the feet of various aboriginal tribes of Indians, known under the general name of Coroados, or the Crowned, from the habit they all had of cutting their hair the same length all round the head, and calling themselves Guaranis, Tapés, Bugres, and Guanaïcans. Some of these tribes had been visited and converted to the Christian faith by the Spanish Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century, and formed some of the famous Reductions or Christian villages of the Uruguay, as the historian of Paraguay, F. de Charlevoix, tells us. The renown of their exploits against the enemies of the Spanish rule on the Rio de la Plata has not yet died away. These Indians, although greatly diminished in number and no longer seen among the settlements of the coast, still inhabit in large numbers the plains and forests which, commencing at the interior cordillera of the Serra Geral, extend for many leagues to the north and west. About the year 1743 some Portuguese families from the Azores were sent thither by the King of Portugal to colonise the shores of the great inland waters, dos Patos; and, exploring this lake to its head, they gave to the upper part, now more commonly called the Rio Guayba, the name of Lagoa Viamão, having seen the five rivers expanding into a broad estuary, and forming a resemblance to the human hand.\* Some say they settled at first a couple of degrees lower down the lake, on its western shore, in the neighbourhood of the present Xarqueadas of Pelotas; but finding the soil sandy and unproductive, because too much exposed to the Pampero, they moved higher up about the year 1760, under the guidance of the Governor of the

<sup>\*</sup> Vi a māo, in Portuguese, "I have seen a hand." The first settlement of the emigrants was probably at a small hamlet, the centre of the parish of the same name, at the north-eastern extremity of the lake.

Capitania, José de Figuereido, until they came to the spot whereon now stands the city of Porto Alegre or Joyful Harbour,—which was also for a long time called "Porto dos Casāes," from the circumstance of all the settlers being married couples. They began by building a church, which was originally dedicated to St. Francis, but was finally created a matriz or parish church in 1814 by an alvará or royal order, under the invocation of Our Lady. The first Bishop of Rio Grande do Sul was appointed in 1853; the present Bishop is his immediate successor, and was consecrated at

Rome in 1860 by the Sovereign Pontiff in person.

The climate of the province is, upon the whole, exceedingly fine, and presents no extremes of temperature. Seldom does the thermometer fall below 40 degrees in winter-that is, in June, July, and August; and never, excepting in the low river parts bordering on Paraguay, does it rise above 90 or 95 in the hottest January days. Of course there are considerable local variations of temperature, as the province in its central and northern parts is mountainous; but frost is never known in the plains, nor overpowering heat among the hills. Most days in summer a breeze springs up at noon and blows till the evening. This renders the atmosphere truly delightful. Nearly all the fruits and vegetable productions of Europe would thrive, if properly cultivated; but the civil wars have done an irreparable injury to colonisation and agriculture,\* and nothing in the way of industrious enterprise can be hoped for from the sluggish race which now occupies the land. Oranges and peaches are extremely abundant everywhere, as well as melons and grapes in many parts; but then they almost grow spontaneously and thrive without any nursing, though there is no doubt the latter fruit would yield much better wine if scientifically cultivated.

Some twenty or thirty years ago, on the partial reëstablishment of peace, an effort was made by the Brazilian Government to people this vast and fairest portion of the empire. An abundant immigration was invited over from Europe, and grants of large tracts of land were conceded for merely nominal rents to local estancieros and to a French nobleman, the Count of Montravel, on condition that they should be colonised within a certain time. The new settlers, to the number of fifteen or twenty thousand, came chiefly from the Rhenish provinces of Germany—hardy men, inured to poverty and labour, who have scattered themselves in time throughout the val-

<sup>\*</sup> The war raging these three years past between Paraguay and Brazil, of which this unfortunate province of Rio Grande has been in great part the theatre, has done and will yet do incalculable mischief, lasting in its effects for many years to come.

leys and hills of the Serra Geral, where they devote themselves entirely to the clearing of the forests and to agriculture. They are doubtless destined by Divine Providence to multiply rapidly in so fruitful and salubrious a country, and to form the nucleus of a future thriving nation. Two-thirds at least of these settlers are Catholics; and in their common faith will find an easy point of contact, if not of entire amalgamation, with the original Portuguese race. But for this fusion, or admixture at least, the native Brazilians would seem incapable of any material or religious improvement. They or their fathers came from Portugal at a time when that once noble and deeply religious nation had entered on its decay; and, over and above their decrepit political institutions, they had the misfortune to bring with them to this virgin land the curse of African slavery. Between worthless masters and brutalised slaves, this magnificent country would appear doomed to a state of eternal torpor or rapid decay, were it not for the energy and vitality of the new race which is fast spreading itself over its most fertile regions.

The first Bishop of Rio Grande do Sul was a good old man, who, with the best intentions in the world, appeared to think that religious matters stood very well as they were; or, at least, that he had neither time, means, nor strength to introduce and carry out muchneeded reforms. His successor, in the short period of his episcopacy, has done much, and would have done more but for almost insuperable obstacles and the utter want of sound public opinion on religious subjects. Notwithstanding the real martyrdom to which he knew he was exposing himself, he brought from Europe a score of Jesuit missionaries, to whom he at once intrusted the direction of his episcopal seminary, some missions among the Indians, and the care of a number of picadas or new German colonies amidst the forests. Those who have charge of the latter are mostly German or Polish Fathers. They are tolerated, and barely tolerated, by the authorities on account of the welfare of the infant colonies, which greatly depends on them, although, as we shall see, they lack no tribulations in the exercise of their holy zeal. The moment I arrived, the good Bishop bade me prepare to accompany him on a visit to these various missions. I accepted the invitation with joy, as I was eager, not only to help in the great work of the salvation of souls, but also to be enabled by actual sight and experience to form a correct judgment of the state of the country, physical, moral, and religious.

We left the city of Porto Alegre the last week in April, and took boat on the Rio dos Sinos (so called on account of its many sinuosities), accompanied by two black servants to look after the horses and luggage. This was necessarily small in compass, as we

were to journey through very wild and difficult places, only practicable for mules as beasts of burden: two or three well-packed portmanteaus, with a saddle or two, constituted our travelling equipage. We sailed for several hours up the river towards the colony of São Leopoldo, so named about twenty years ago from the namesaint of the mother of the present Emperor of Brazil. It would not be an easy task to describe the impression made on me by the marvellous beauty of the scenes which the many windings of the stream continually unfolded before our eyes. Nature here is still in her youth; man has not yet had time to profane her maiden loveliness under pretence of embellishing her. May she long preserve her native magnificence, while lavishly bestowing her bounty for the needs of man!

By four o'clock we arrived off Sao Leopoldo: for more than an hour previously fireworks had been heard hissing at intervals from the midst of the woods that fringed the river, and had warned us of the preparations made in the colony for our reception. The warmth of our welcome gave me no little surprise: scarcely had our boat reached the shore when the air resounded far and wide with the roaring and fizzing of bombs, guns, pistols, crackers, and rockets, which strangely, yet not inharmoniously, mingled with the silvery tinkling of the little church bells and the moaning of the forest breeze. The missionary, Father B.,\* dressed in alb and cope, stood awaiting us on the river-bank at the head of a long procession of young people, the girls dressed in pure white and crowned with freshculled roses. Two of the youngest of these, pretty blue-eyed, goldenhaired Saxons, held aloft between them a little open basket, where, smothered among roses, was hidden a snow-white turtle-dove. The little maids advancing timidly towards the Prelate, raised their basket on high, untied the silken cord which bound the wings of the captive bird, and set it free. The dove hovered for a moment over our heads, and then flew away to its native woods. This was intended to be typical of the gifts of the Holy Spirit of God brought to the flock by this episcopal visit. The procession then re-formed, headed by cross and banners, and a double file of children singing the Litanies. Outside on the grass, dressed in their Sunday best, knelt a crowd of men and women reciting the Rosary, and bending low, as the Bishop advanced under a gorgeous canopy, to receive his blessing. In this manner we reached the homely church through

<sup>\*</sup> I have since learnt, with much sorrow, that this most excellent missionary had been falsely accused, by some virulent enemy of religion, of performing an illegal marriage: to save him from persecution his superiors recalled him to Europe.

an avenue of palm-trees, the young men of the village meanwhile ringing the bells almost to cracking, and deafening the air with their firing and their shouts.

The church, a very rude and primitive-looking edifice, chiefly built of timber, was profusely decorated with flowers and branches of trees; whole palm-trees had been cut in the forest to adorn the sanctuary, and the Bishop's throne was one gorgeous mass of flowers. The missionary, after paving homage to the Prelate on this the first episcopal visit ever made in these regions, preached a sermon to the people in German first, afterwards in Portuguese, and then all present came, one by one, to kiss the pastoral ring. was over, and the following day's ceremonial duly announced, the procession formed again, and led us through triumphal arches of verdure to the house of one of the principal inhabitants, the owner of the river-boats, who generously placed his dwelling and all it contained at the Bishop's disposal. This good man and his wife, a North-American lady, had been converted a few years before to the Catholic faith by Fr. B., and they knew not how to express their happiness and gratitude. We had scarcely entered the house, beautifully decorated with palms and garlands of flowers, when his lordship received the complimentary visit of the most notable inhabitants of the colony. Meanwhile the opened door was besieged by a motley crowd of people, -whites, negroes, Indians, -all eager to catch a glimpse of the great man's countenance. Such a festival had never been seen there, and would not probably occur again for years.

The next was the great day so long anticipated in the colony. Nature had put on her most smiling charms, and a glorious sunshine gilded the landscape with brightest rays. There was a solemn Pontifical High Mass, a First Communion of some two hundred children, and Confirmation afterwards administered to them and a great number of adults. There were many blacks mixed up with the German population, and also not a few Guarani Indians, who had come a long way through the woods to see the "Cherúguassú," "the Great Father of the black robes." These poor people have preserved a lively remembrance of their former Jesuit Fathers of the Reductions; and although deprived of pastors now for nearly a century, whole aldéias\* of them have preserved the custom of meeting every Sunday and feast-day to sing and recite their Christian prayers. Several times deputations of these Indians scattered over the yet uncolonised deserts, which stretch on both banks of the upper Uruguay from the mountains of Sancta Catharina to the borders of

<sup>\*</sup> Aldéia, a village of semi-civilised Indians, formerly inhabitants of the Paraguay Reductions.

Paraguay proper, have come to solicit the Bishop to send them padres or missionaries, but until now always in vain. I fear the Brazilian clergy of the coast towns are unable to undertake the austere and lonely missionary life, and good priests from Europe are few. Great efforts, however, are made by the present Bishop to obtain European missionaries, so as to provide for the spiritual

necessities of these forsaken children of the forest.

In the evening the Bishop, preceded by the whole population of the colony, singing German religious hymns, went in procession some little distance out of the village to visit the cemetery and two little oratory chapels, erected by the piety of the people, one of them to Our Lord dos Passos, and the other to Our Lady of the Rosary. There is throughout all the Brazils much popular devotion, though unhappily it prevails mostly among the country people and the blacks, towards Our Blessed Lord, under the representation of the Ecce Homo. These figures, generally of the size of life and vividly coloured, stand in enclosed niches above the altar, and form excellent subjects for meditation on the sufferings of Our Redeemer, as they are postured and dressed to resemble the actual reality. It was nearly dark when we returned to the colony; the Bishop was singularly pleased with all he saw; and I must confess that my own emotion several times drew tears from my eyes at the sight of the simplicity, the fervour, and the true Christian union of the good people of Sao Leopoldo. For there was not one of that multitude of people but had devoutly approached the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist by way of preparation for this long-desired visit. The good missionary and his young coadjutor had taken infinite pains to cultivate this promising field; for weeks before they had given daily instructions, carried on spiritual retreats in three or four distant places belonging to the district, and stirred up the hearts of the most sluggish, if there were any such, that all might abundantly receive of the blessings lavished upon them on this occasion.

We were next to visit the picada or settlement of Sao-Miguelof-the-Two-Brothers, about five or six leagues\* distant, in the lower range of the Serra Geral. But on the evening preceding the day fixed for our departure the weather became suddenly threatening. For the last two or three days the sun had shone with unclouded splendour. and the heat had been intense, unmoderated by the usual breeze, and this always betokens a storm in this latitude. The Indians had warned us of it, having seen the forest monkeys unusually active, another unfailing sign of rain. The beautiful serenity of the sky

<sup>\*</sup> A Brazilian league is nearly four English miles, being computed at 7000 yards.

became in a few minutes overcast by lurid clouds hanging very low. The air was perfectly still; not a leaf quivered on the bushes, not a blade of grass moved; the birds, usually so noisy, were silent; every thing announced a violent convulsion of nature. And it soon came. We do not know in northern Europe what rain means, nor indeed thunder and lightning. All at once the heavy mass of darklygathering clouds was cleft in twain, a flash of lightning of extraordinary vividness issued from the blood-red horizon, and scarcely a second afterwards there burst from the heavens so tremendous a crash as to shake the house we were in to its very foundations. I could not for a while be persuaded that a thunderbolt had not fallen within twenty yards of us. Yet no one appeared alarmed: these sudden storms, it seems, are here very frequent, and usually do little mischief except among the forests, where the havoc, of course, is harmless and seldom heeded. Lightning and thunder now followed each other so rapidly as to be almost continuous. Soon large drops of rain fell, which quickly increased into a heavy flood of water, pouring down straight and fast for twelve consecutive hours. What a dreadful thing, thought I, must Noah's deluge have been, if at all like this, and for forty days! But I saw plenty more of such rain later in the season.

In the morning the rain ceased for a time, and efforts were made to detain us another day, but the good Bishop was loth to disappoint the people of the picada\* of St. Michael, who had probably congregated from afar to meet him, and he determined to depart. The roads, however, were certain to be horrible, and we found them so indeed. After breakfast we bade adieu to our hospitable entertainers, whose tears could not be controlled. We also bade farewell to the whole population, which followed us to the river-side amidst the ringing of the bells and the explosions of rockets. In this the Germans acted somewhat in opposition to the custom of the American Spaniards and Portuguese, who lavish their demonstrations of joy on their guests when they arrive, but always suffer them to depart in profound silence. We crossed the turbid stream in a sort of rough ferry-boat, pushed along by swimming horsemen; and on the other bank mounted the horses which had been sent thither for our use. Here I began to know something of the hardships of wilderness travelling; for, independently of having to bestride a half-wild, unbroken horse, my saddle was adorned with a pair of such ridiculously small stirrups that I could not succeed in inserting even the toes of my boots within them; I

<sup>\*</sup> This word means "a recent forest-clearing," and is applied to the newer colonies.

need scarcely say how uncomfortable, and even dangerous, the ride turned out. Two young men led the way as guides, carrying aloft green processional banners gaily floating in the breeze. The rest of the party preceded, accompanied, or followed his lordship at a hand gallop, their strange-looking ponchos floating loosely behind them. These odd garments, in universal use in the Pampas, and indeed in most parts of South America, are often dved a bright red, blue, or yellow, and look for all the world like a gothic chasuble on the back of a priest. Thus we went, helter-skelter, through quagmires and mud-holes, right across the plain, which stretches for two or three leagues beyond the river. I was not a little astonished at the unconcern with which the cavalcade dashed through the most awful sloughs, apparently heedless of mud and wet. We were soon all but unrecognisable as human beings, from the coating of mire which covered faces, hands, and garments. Certainly no English foxhunter ever came home after a hard day's run in November plastered as we were. Now and then, to avoid absolutely impassable mudholes, we deviated from the path through the tall coarse grass of the prairie. This sheltered great numbers of cattle, scarcely visible at a distance as they lazily reclined, chewing the cud, heedless of our approach, and scarcely deigning to rise from their luxurious bed. Not quite so, however, with the partridges and wild turkeys, which every moment rose under our very horses' feet, and flew away from danger with a loud whirr. Yet no one of our party seemed to notice them but myself. If an English farmer, methought, were here with his goodly double-barrel, he would not be so cool as these people till he got accustomed to the abundance of game. I asked a bronze-faced peon who was riding alongside of me: "Don't you ever catch these birds?" "As vezes, senhor,"-"sometimes, sir," he answered: "but we don't much like them, they are such dry eating." Of course they would be, thought I, if merely broiled on the live coals, as these fellows cook everything in the shape of meat. But give them to one of our Paris chefs! I afterwards met with an old army captain, who eked out his miserable pittance of a small pension by catching partridges, which he ate for his dinner almost every day, having invented, he said, thirty different ways of dressing them. He gave me a dish of them one day, and I had never eaten any thing better in Europe. The flesh was very white and savoury.

After hard riding for a couple of hours, in spite of the rain, which began to fall again, we halted at the lone house of a settler, where from early morning great culinary preparations had been made by the whole establishment, gudeman, gudewife, stout sons, and rosy daughters, a whole hive of them. There was poultry and rice, fresh milk, cassava, pirāo, and a quantity of other things, not forgetting hock wine and German ale, which seem necessaries of life to these colonists, for they import them from Hamburg at a great expense. We found also the far-famed sour-krout, to which, I must own, both my nose and stomach entertained an insuperable objection; and also a kind of wine made of native black grapes. This wine, not unlike Burgundy in colour, had rather an unpleasant sourish taste, which may be owing to want of skill in the making of it; but the more probable cause is the inferior quality of the fruit itself, originally introduced from Germany, and whose berries are apt not to ripen simultaneously, as they would do under a less burning sun. I advised several of the estancieros who cultivated it to import the Cape vine, which would be likely to thrive in this climate, so nearly resembling that of the southernmost point of Africa.

## The Poet of Nimes.

THE poetry of Jean Reboul has perhaps never attained the most general kind of popularity in France. A writer so thoroughly religious and so uncompromisingly royalist, the tone of whose poetry is so pure, so calm, and so high, is hardly likely at present to become a favourite with the masses in any country, or in France in particular. At the same time, even if it must be allowed that the verses of Reboul are deficient sometimes in polish, sometimes even in force, and that he has perhaps published-rather too much and too freely for his own fame, there are a few poems of his, such as L'Ange et l'Enfant, which will live as long as the language of his country No one, again, can make himself acquainted with the works of this writer without feeling strongly drawn to the man whose productions he is reading. Reboul shares with the best and greatest poets the power of making himself beloved by his readers. a natural consequence of this that we should gladly welcome any publication which gives us an insight into the character and familiar life of such a writer; and this constitutes, we think, the chief value of a not very ample collection of the letters of Reboul, lately published in France, with an introduction by M. Poujoulat. The letters do not amount to a hundred and fifty, and are almost exclusively addressed to M. de Fresne, a literary friend, who was won to Reboul by the appearance of the poem which we have named in the Quotidienne, in 1829, and who continued to correspond with him from that time up to his death in 1864. Few of these letters are of any great length, nor is there any thing elaborate about their composition. In this age of letter-writers, they would hardly win for their author a high place in the catalogue of those who are distinguished as such. and interest consist simply in their being the letters of Reboul, and, as such, the reflections of his simple and noble mind.

We see in the character of Jean Reboul, as in that of some other Frenchmen of the same generation, such as Lacordaire and the Curé d'Ars, born or brought up at the time when religion was proscribed, a certain firmness and strength, which may be attributed to the sharp atmosphere of persecution. Reboul, who was always so religious and so loyal, was born the day after the third anniversary of the execu-

tion of Louis XVI. Nîmes, his native city, seems always to have been strongly Bourbon, as well as Catholic. The Abbé de Cabrières has remarked that the three provinces in France most noted for their zealous maintenance of loyal traditions-Brittany, Languedoc, and Provence-are just those in which public liberties had been most vigorously asserted against those encroachments of the absolutist system which had been so unwisely pressed on the country by the monarchs who preceded the Revolution. In those parts of France, also, the nobles had kept themselves in great measure at home, instead of hanging about the court and seeking offices and employments; and the gentry were less infected here than elsewhere with love of Paris life. It is no wonder that in such parts of the country devotion and lovalty should be hereditary among the peasants and artisans. No doubt Jean Reboul drank in his love for the old house which had so long reigned over France with his mother's milk. His childish ears listened to the stories of the enormities committed by the revolutionists almost sooner than to anything else, except the simple truths of his religion. As he began, so he grew up. There is an unity and simplicity about his life, not broken either by his literary career or by his brief appearance on the political stage after the Revolution of February, because both as a writer and as member of the Assembly he was the same sturdy, honest, faithful Catholic as in his baker's shop at Nîmes. His loyalty was thoroughly independent, and infected by no admiration for despotism. His poems are full of tributes to the exiled family, to whom he paid the chivalrous devotion of a minstrel of the Middle Ages; but there was a kind of old Roman pride about him, which made it, as we shall see, difficult for him to accept a favour, even at the hand of Henri Cinq. Religion and the experience of sorrow seem to have made him a poet. He was twice married and widowed. His first wife, the object of his earliest affection, whom he married before he was twenty-four, died two months after the marriage, and her image was ever afterwards retained in his heart. His occupations made it necessary for him to marry again, and his second wife lived twelve years after their union, but they were always childless. His first publication-if that word may be used of the appearance of his poem L'Ange et l'Enfant in a provincial paper-as it seems, without his consent-preceded the time of his second bereavement by two years. Before he had begun to write on serious subjects, he had been famous in a small circle of friends for the force and fire which he threw into an occasional chanson; and though the light gaiety of his early years has left comparatively few traces in his literary remains, he seems to the end always to have been remarkable for quiet and simple cheerfulness.

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He did not publish his first volume till 1836, when he was forty years old. He hung back a long time from this step, and was only induced to take it at last by the influence of Lamartine; but when the poet had been persuaded to venture before the world, there was almost as great a difficulty in finding a publisher as there had been with Reboul himself. At last M. Gosselin consented to publish his poems, provided M. de Lamartine wrote a preface to usher them into They were very favourably received, though some reserves were made in the universal approbation on the score of the occasional inaccuracy and provincialism from which Reboul never altogether freed himself. After this first success, he had no longer any difficulty in finding an audience. His longest and most ambitious poem, Le Dernier Jour, was published in 1839. Reboul appears to have determined on improving it before his death, and had intended to add four new cantos to the ten of which it was originally composed; but he had not time to finish them all. He published another miscellaneous volume in 1846, under the name of Poésies Nouvelles. A drama, Le Martyre de Vivia, and another volume, called Les Traditionelles, complete the list of his principal works, at least of those published during his lifetime. Since his death in 1864, his friends have added a collection called Dernières Poésies. Besides his French compositions, he seems to have produced a number of songs in his own Provençal dialect, and to have been a sort of patriarch to a school of younger men who have used the same rich and melodious vehicle in prose or verse.

Every one who has heard of Reboul is aware that he was a baker at Nîmes. This fact, however, if it was all that was known of him, might mislead rather than help us as to forming a right appreciation of the man. The idea of a baker-poet suggests to our minds some prodigy of genius, pining for a higher walk of life than that in which his lot was cast, far too poorly educated to have a fair chance for the expansion of his powers, and betraying either by occasional mistakes or by a want of balance and judgment his deficient cultivation or his discontent with his position. Nothing of all this is to be found in Reboul. He was a baker, and a baker he continued to the end; but he was not a man who wanted either education or self-culture. We may well suppose that a refined Parisian critic might detect in him blunders and provincialisms which the duller and more unpractised faculties of a foreign reader pass over unheeded; but M. Poujoulat gives us to understand that if Reboul is in some respects unpolished, it is often rather from want of will than from want of power. Some men, he says, who are condemned to a trade have "come across a lyre by chance, and have known how to draw

music from it. They have caused astonishment, and were applauded: that was all that they knew of it, but the lyre trembled under their fingers. They had gifts, they had not studies. They were melodious, but ignorant. Art smiled on them, but history and literature were unknown lands to them. Reboul was not such. He had never made classical studies, but he supplied the defect by the best translations. It was not given him to inhale fully the perfume of antiquity; but he was no stranger to its genius. He had in himself a sentiment of the beautiful, the delicate, and the true, which gave him light to understand the works of Greece and Rome. There are many degrees of relationship besides that of the closest kind. The intercourse held by Reboul with the great spirits of antiquity was that of one of the same family with them. The literatures of England, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Portugal had opened to him their treasures. d'œuvre of our own language were familiar to him. He had studied the sacred Scriptures, the Fathers, and general history. Reboul was a man of letters." (Introd. p. 7.)

There are many hints in the volume of which we are speaking of the fact that a certain want of polish and finish in his poems was a cause of complaint and criticism on the part of his friends, and that it was not considered as an unpardonable offence by Reboul himself. He seems to have thought the days for extreme refinement in compositions like his own were gone by. M. Poujoulat thinks that he has lost much by his negligence. "Reboul," he says, "n'est jamais médiocre; quand il ne plane pas, il tombe." But as far as traces of education are concerned, his letters are those of a sensible, well-informed, and thoughtful man, and betray no inferiority of any kind. This is probably more than could be said for most self-trained men: but it is the least praise that is due to the letters before us. Not only could no one suspect, we think, that they were written by a baker, but they have the judgment, the balance, the moderation which belong only to true cultivation. There is a pregnancy and conciseness about the expression of his opinions which perhaps might even have suffered if his style had been more artistic. These qualities probably aid in giving his writings that air of sobriety which distinguishes them. Reboul mentions his judgment of many of the most stormy of the changes through which France had to pass within the period occupied by this correspondence, and of many of the men who became prominent in consequence. He is always decided and even strong in his opinions, but there is never exaggeration, and never mere sentiment. His intense religious feelings show themselves everywhere, but with perfect ease and calm. Next to them, probably, in the force of their hold upon him, were the affec-

tion and loyalty with which he regarded the exiled Bourbons of the elder branch. Though he joined so many devoted friends of monarchy and legitimacy in not refusing to take a seat as deputy in the Legislative Assembly which was called into existence by the Revolution of 1848, he was throughout a staunch Legitimist, and we gather from passages in his letters that the same political feelings prevailed in the South of France rather generally. He was twice offered the decoration of the Legion of Honour, first by the Government of Louis Philippe, and again in 1852 by the then "Prince President," Louis Napoleon. The first time he answered M. de Salvandy in the words, "Celui qui peut m'offrir cela n'est pas en France." The second time it was thought, apparently, that as representative of Nîmes, where the Prince had been well received, his refusal would be impolitic. It was put to him that he would be honoured simply as one of the celebrities of his native town, "comme on aurait décoré les Arènes." Reboul replied that he was not yet a monument: and he refused on the ground that to accept would have been to throw a doubt on the sincerity of what he had written. The Abbé de Cabrières (Dernières Poésies, p. lx.) gives the anecdote in words which seem completely to paint Reboul. "When he was sounded whether he would receive the insignia of the Legion of Honour from the hands of the future Emperor, he pointed to his drawers in which were letters from Frohsdorff, medals with the effigy of Henri de France, and a ring given him by the Duchess of Parma. He then added, if I were to accept your offer, I should have to throw all that away. He has told me himself, if I remember well, how, when the person charged with the intimation had left him, he knelt down and prayed the Blessed Virgin to let him understand whether his acceptance of this decoration could be of any use to the cause of the poor and of Jesus Christ. 'I understood that God had no need of it-and I refused."

He had also refused the offer of a post of honour and some slight emolument, which would have enabled him to be of service to his fellow-citizens at the same time that it helped out his scanty income—the post of Librarian of the town. But he would have nothing to do with it. Early in his career as a poet, he received a letter of thanks and congratulation from the Comte de Chambord. Some of his friends, knowing that his circumstances were straitened, resolved to unite in subscribing to an annual pension which was to be offered to him in the name of the exiled Prince: but even this Reboul declined. This obstinate independence is perhaps one of the few traces which we discover in him of a feeling as to his social position. He carried it so far as to refuse the hospitality of M. de

Fresne when he was obliged to come to Paris to discharge his duties in the Assembly, except on the condition of paying a small pension for his board and lodging. Not many years before his death (in 1856) his circumstances became embarrassed in consequence of some debts incurred by his brother-in-law, and then the Comte de Chambord himself sent him a sum uf money-we are not told whether by way of pension or not. Reboul felt that he could not refuse any thing from one whom he regarded as his King, and his letter of thanks, short as it is, is one of the most truly characteristic in the volume. "I had," he says, "in the sincerity of my faith, it may be even in my pride, dreamt of going into the next world without having ever needed any payment for my devotion. God has ordained otherwise. The august and venerated hands from which the benefit comes to me, prevent me, in accordance with my heart, from expressing any thing in return but my respectful and profound gratitude." But he tells M. de Fresne, at the same time, that he "knew that his talents derived all their force from his disinterestedness and consequent sincerity: and that it had required all the authority of his numerous friends to decide him to accept the gift." He ends the note, aujourd'hui, je suis triste comme le savetier.

The same loyal devotion which made Reboul submit—for no other word suits the matter so well—to be assisted as to temporal matters by the exiled representatives of the Bourbons, made him jealous and sensitive as to all attacks on monarchy in general and the French royal family in particular. This sensitiveness gave occasion to a correspondence between his friend M. de Fresne and Père Lacordaire in 1857. Lacordaire seems never to have been able to free himself from the imputation of a sort of semi-Jacobinism in the eyes of the royalist party in France: and the same charge appears still to rest upon his memory.\* Every word that he ut-

<sup>\*</sup> Father Lacordaire has lately been found fault with as having in 1848—we presume that reference is made to the time when he was a candidate for a seat in the Assembly—publicly controverted some statement of his friend Count de Montalembert, as too aristocratic, and as having designated him the citoyen Montalembert—"a title which even extreme Liberalism was ashamed to revive." There is so much vagueness about the statement of fact that it is difficult to bring it to the test of a fair examination; but, whatever may be the (supposed) fact alluded to, it is clearly meant as the foundation of a charge of "republican tendencies." Now, as to this charge, it may be well to hear M. de Montalembert himself. He remarks (Le Père Lacordaire, p. 202) that his friend had long before spoken so severely against the republicans that his language was often thrown in his teeth. He had said, for example, in 1838, "on découvre au fond de cale de la société je ne sais quelle faction qui se croit républicaine, et dont on n's le courage de dire du mal que parcequ'elle a des chances de nous

tered against "kings" was understood as an attack on monarchical principles in general. In one of his *Conférences* at Toulouse he had been speaking of the impotence of men in their attempts to

couper la tête dans l'intervalle de deux monarchies." Still earlier, in 1832, he had said: "Si les républicains triomphent, c'est à dire cette lie ambitieuse de chaque ville et de chaque bourg, ils seront l'horreur de la liberté . . . . et la France fatiguée se jettera dans les bras d'un maître, qui fera de nous ce qu'il lui plaira." No one can find fault with him for accepting the republican form of government in 1848. As to his language about M. de Montalembert's speech, it is, as we have said, difficult to meet a charge which is so vaguely made; but till something more definite comes before us, we must suppose that reference is made to a discussion which took place before one of the Paris Clubs in 1848, at the time of Lacordaire's candidature. If this be the case, the great Dominican has certainly suffered injustice at the hands of the writer to whom we refer. M. de Montalembert, in the work already referred to, gives an account of what passed from the short-hand writer's report. He was himself attacked for his speech on the Swiss question, and "citoyen" Barnabé-everybody is called "citoyen" all through the report-asked the "citoyen" Lacordaire what he thought of this speech of the "citoyen" Montalembert. Lacordaire defended his friend, whom he usually calls not "citoyen," but M. de Montalembert-and only twice "citoyen"-but he thought that he had not sufficiently distinguished between the religious and the political questions, involved in the matter of the Sonderbund. He thought his views incomplete. There is not a word about their being "aristocratic:" indeed, the use of such a word would have had no sense whatever on that occasion. Then Lacordaire was further asked whether he approved of what the "citoyen" Montalembert had said on liberals in general, and on the men of '93 in particular. He replied, that the "citoyen" in question had spoken of men whom he called "radicals"-past and present-the radicals of 1793 and 1847. "For my part," he said, "I declare that I am not the least in the world a radical, in the ordinary sense of the word. The word has not a good meaning in our language." He was interrupted by clamours of opposition. He went on to say, "M. de Montalembert has spoken ill of 1793; well, I declare that there are men of 1793 of whom I can never speak well; that there are in 1847, in 1848, that there will be even in 1849, speeches and acts of certain revolutionaries of which I shall never be able to speak well. Who are these revolutionaries? Men who desire neither liberty in order, nor order in liberty. I regard liberty and order as two elements essential to human life, and any one who is proved to have been the enemy of order is the enemy of liberty." Tyrants were the enemies of liberty, and revolutionaries were tyrants under another name. To a further question whether the speech of his friend, "which was from beginning to end a venomous satire on 'nos pères de '93,' " deserved his praise or his blame, Lacordaire replied that he acknowledged no "père de '93." It would appear that the title citoyen-"which even extreme liberalism was ashamed to revive"—was as much a matter of course in the assembly in which Lacordaire was thus defending the unpopular side as that of "honourable member" in the House of Commons,-and that he himself was rather slow in catching the trick of it.

hide historical truth, and as an example of this impotence he had instanced a line of kings who had successively reigned over the same people for ten centuries, and yet, notwithstanding their continuity of rule and of interest, had been unable to hide the vices of some of their number. The illustration was in itself harmless enough, but it fired the blood of some royalist readers, among whom was Reboul. M. de Fresne, as we have said, addressed a letter of remonstrance to the orator, and received from him an ample explanation. Lacordaire declared that he had never attacked the French monarchy: that, as Aristotle and St. Thomas had done, he had always treated a limited monarchy as the most perfect form of government. He even considered the line of the French kings as the best that had ever appeared in the world, from Hugh Capet to Charles X. inclusively! Reboul was hardly satisfied. best line that has ever appeared?" he said; "qu'on la laisse donc en répos! Le sentiment universel ne se trompe pas sur les tendances de l'illustre Dominicain." This was, perhaps, rather hard: it was almost a proscription of liberal opinions altogether; but the fact that a man like Reboul could speak in this manner of so great a servant of the Church as Lacordaire shows the manner in which political predilections and traditions are sometimes mixed up with religion. At the same time, it must be remembered that Lacordaire was often thought to mean more than he said. There are some men who are in a condition of perpetual self-explanation. Whether from a habit of general exaggeration which has become a second nature to them, or from an incapacity of seeing more than one thing at a time, which narrows their mind at the same time that it intensifies their conviction, or because they are self-taught and so clumsy in language, they are always misunderstood, and always expressing their unfeigned amazement at the phenomenon. writings or their speeches are taken up in explaining what has gone before. Lacordaire was too great a master of himself and of his own language to belong to this class, which consists generally of men of slightly original but unballasted minds: but he was habitually simple and unconscious, his mind was filled with clear and grand ideas, and it was as impossible for him to speak without force as for the others to speak without exaggeration. "I have always been surprised," he writes to M. de Fresne, "that a pen and a speech so moderate as mine should have produced, in certain minds, the impression which I have found them to produce. It is a sort of mystery to me. I have printed six volumes, and I do not believe that a fair man, whatever may be his opinions, can point out in them an extravagant expression. The only thing that I can be blamed

for is the having liberal opinions. But is that a crime, when those opinions are not extreme, or irreligious, or dishonest?"

It is often said that the natives of different parts of France are almost as different in character as if they were the children of different countries. What charms us particularly about Reboul is his sturdy provincialism,-he is a thorough Frenchman and not the least of a Parisian. As long as the population of the provincial towns and of the country districts of France retain the genuine individuality of character which marks every line that he has written, there must be great hope that the whole country will not be infected by the "odeurs de Paris." He had a suspicion and a dislike even of that famous Parisian institution which gathers unto itself most of the literary glories of the country, the Académie Française. His friends seem once to have thought of putting him forward as a candidate for a vacancy in that body; but he was opposed to it, and his expressions are even severe on the subject, as if it had been necessary in some cases to make a sacrifice of Catholic principle in order to gain admission. At last, however, he only says, je ne suis point du bois dont on les fait. If we are to judge of the character of the natives of Nîmes-the city of the old Nemausus, as he delights to call it-from his writings, we must consider them as not less deeply religious, loyal, and conservative than the Bretons, while the soft air of the South has tempered their impetuosity into firmness, and worn down a certain roughness and wildness which shows itself in excess in such characters as Lamennais; and the inheritance of ancient civilisation which is represented in the grand Roman remains for which their country is famous gives them an air of innate refinement and cultivation which is lacking elsewhere.

On the whole, these letters, short as they are, set before us a noble, honest, and consistent character, one whose veins we may well imagine to have contained some of the blood of the early Christian martyrs in the Arenes. One is inclined to wish that he had had greater opportunities, and particularly that his thoughtful and ingenuous mind had enjoyed more frequent contact with that of other great Catholic writers of his day and country. One is almost tempted to smile at reading in his account of the Chant de la Pologne—a poem which was lately translated in these pages—how M. de Montalembert, in a passing visit, had given him the thoughts and almost the words, and entreated him to put them into verse, and how, as he tells his correspondent, "ce n'est pas sans terreur que j'ai tracé le mot de liberté." Language such as this seems to explain the remarkably strong lines of separation which are to be found between men of different political schools in France, who are nevertheless all

equally devoted to the cause of religion and the Church. The word Liberty sounds gentle enough, even in the ears of an "aristocrat," in a country like our own, which has enjoyed domestic repose for centuries, and in which—at present, at all events—the most violent political agitations issue in the breaking of windows or in monster processions of well-behaved artisans. In France, on account of the torrents of blood which have been shed and the terrible social catastrophes which have been brought about under the plea of Liberty, it is perfectly natural that many good and religious men should hear even its name with suspicion.

### Forebodings und Hopes.

Most of our readers must have lighted on some paragraphs at least of Mr. Carlyle's latest and fiercest denunciation of things in general. The quotations from it in the newspapers have been so many and various, that an assiduous student of them might almost reproduce the whole document from its disjecta membra. That a short paper from such a pen, and full of all its usual fire with less than its usual grotesqueness, should be extensively read and excite general attention, is not to be wondered at. Though Mr. Carlyle plays mostly on one string, he plays on it with a master hand, and his performances, like Signor Paganini's, attract admiration partly from that very circumstance. But it strikes us as really remarkable that on this occasion his composition has met with assent rather than ap-The feeling expressed or implied in the comments made on it is rather that there is a great deal of truth in it than that it is cleverly written. Not, of course, that there is any general assent to his particular denunciations, e.g., of the new Reform Bill, or of the American war, or of those who wished to bring Governor Eyre to trial, or even to his confident predictions that in England "in a limited time, say fifty years hence," "democracy will have run the full length of its course," "the Church, all Churches, and so-called religions, and the Christian religion itself will have deliquesced," and "in lieu thereof there will be Free-trade in all senses and to all lengths, in all things, temporal, spiritual and eternal." But, without being so unanimously agreed as their admonitor thinks they are, that these three things "are certain to happen, and are now in visible course of fulfilment," and without being quite ready to resign themselves to the prospect either of "shooting Niagara" as speedily as he expects, or of being reduced to the alternative of Beales, Bonapartè, or bloodshed, afterwards-thinking men of very different schools and parties seem at present remarkably under the influence of two feelings, to which his invectives and predictions do but give a more articulate, though exaggerated, expression,-a sense of a prevailing and pervading untruthfulness, and a presentiment of some great upheavement of existing institutions. To speak of "mendacity hanging in the very air we breathe; all men become, unconsciously

or half or wholly consciously liars to their own souls and to other men's; grimacing, finessing, periphrasing in continual hypocrisy of word, by way of varnish to continual past, present, future misperformance of thing," is perhaps to put it rather too strongly; but still "there is a good deal of truth in it." Take up at random any two or three numbers from the year's file of the Daily Jupiter, or the Sneering Review, or the Liberal Gazette, and you will be sure to read something much to the same purpose, although less vigorously "The disease of the present day is unreality." "There is no party, political or ecclesiastical, the members of which, as a rule, have the courage to utter or even to avow to themselves what they believe or disbelieve." "The present generation is distinguished for a neglect of rules and a scant regard to truth." "Of one thing we may be certain, that very few indeed of the assembled bishops would really wish the truth to appear." "The insincerity that has long infected the ecclesiastical and commercial atmosphere seems to have established itself in that of politics also." To such sort of paragraphs the reference might be given as "passim." Even an ephemeral retailer of witticisms chimes in with such observations as that "we are the greatest humbugs upon earth, and are too busy in deceiving ourselves to have time to deceive other nations."

Along with these confessions of the general truth of Mr. Carlyle's incessant denunciations of "shams" and "unveracities," and his graphic description in this his latest homily of the use of "varnish" during the last two hundred years instead of "solid carpentry," our public instructors of the daily and weekly press seem also agreed in expecting some great changes in Church and State, the measure and results of which their ordinary editorial omniscience is unable to determine, and to which therefore they feel that that other simile of "shooting the Falls," however unpleasant, is not wholly inapplicable. Those who approve, and those who condemn the course of legislation, those who think the Reform Bill a great step towards revolution, and those who see in it a remedy against revolution, speak almost in the same phrases of "new combinations," "shocks to existing institutions," and "the state of things into which we are drifting."

It is curious to contrast the jubilation, as if on the eve of an assured millennium, which hailed the passing of the former Reform Bill, with the timid and plaintive utterances amidst which the late session closed. Of the two ablest exponents of public opinion, both of which strongly advocated the measures actually passed, one congratulated its readers on the victory being gained, "if only we were sure that it is a victory," and the other proclaimed, "The Consti-

tution of England is passing away visibly before our eyes. We are entering on an era of democracy without checks or safeguards." This is hardly the tone that might have been expected. We Catholics indeed, who might be supposed to care so much more for the exercise of our religion than for any political changes, however excellent, as not to be contented to accept the latter instead of the former, might have been reasonably allowed to be dissatisfied and out of spirits, at finding ourselves at the end of another year still condemned to see the majority of our destitute children educated in Protestantism out of the poor-rates to which Catholics are made to contribute,\* still left at the mercy of particular boards of magistrates for the religious consolation of our prisoners,† and still refused any recognition of the single University in which the Catholic youth of Great Britain and Ireland can finish their training without detriment to their faith. At the close of a session in which nothing was done, and nothing even was promised to be done, to remedy either of these three grievances, and the two first enormities met with no consideration at all, the permission granted to our mayors and sheriffs to wear their robes of office could hardly be thought enough to draw forth cries of joy and gratitude. But that, in a time of peace and prosperity, and just when a piece of legislation which had been long demanded had been triumphantly carried, the tone of all the Pro-

<sup>\*</sup> We mentioned in our July Number that the Catholic children in two union workhouses (Strand and Chelsea) had been voluntarily given up in consequence of the Archbishop's exertions. We believe that those in the Fulham Workhouse are now to be added. But these form a very small fraction indeed of the Catholic children in the London Unions alone; and all that we have repeatedly deplored of wholesale and systematic perversion is still the fate of the great majority. The spirit of the boards of guardians has been shown lately not only in refusing, and generally in insolent terms, to avail themselves of the permission which the law gives them to transfer all Catholic children to Catholic hands, but also in seeking, under various pretexts, to delay and evade obedience to a direction from the Poor-Law Board, in the few cases in which it has been obtained, to give up particular children.

<sup>†</sup> As we noticed the decision, by a majority of one, of the Middlesex magistrates at the May quarter-sessions against allowing the Catholic prisoners to meet for Divine service, we must now, although rather late in doing so, congratulate Lord Petrie, Mr. Swift, and Sergeant Bellasis, the only Catholic magistrates on the Board,—or, at least, the only Catholics who have taken the trouble to qualify and attend,—on the success of their exertions, and on the majority of nine by which that decision was reversed in July. It is still, however, at the option of the magistrates all over England and Scotland to deprive the Catholic prisoners under their charge of the blessings of Mass, and public prayer, and instruction, and in most prisons they do deprive them.

testant papers, or at least of all above the lowest level, should be what we have described, seems worthy of note.

And if we ascend to higher regions than that of the Daily Jupiter and his compeers, and listen to other readers of thought, we find almost everywhere the same sort of feeling expressed. They are all strongly, and some of them, like Mr. Carlyle himself, bitterly opposed to the restoration of the Catholic Church in England, but they agree in testifying that the system substituted for it has been long hollow, and has now become very hollow indeed, and that there are ugly signs of something like an approaching smash; and while some of them recommend their own particular patent varnish as the only sure remedy, they all see that every one else's varnish is of no use, and that the varnishing plan generally is a very mischievous one. Mr. Carlyle himself has nothing better to prescribe than appeals to the veracities, the restoration of serfdom, and the formation by country gentlemen of standing armies out of their drilled tenantry. We do not quote Mr. Ruskin, because his sentences are too long for the type at our command; but our readers probably know that his testimony to the demoralising effects of established Protestantism, and to the general want of sincerity of belief in England, is very much like that of Mr. Carlyle, although expressed in a very different, but hardly less peculiar style. Mr. Matthew Arnold is a prophet of quite another school. He represents the best part of Oxford that is not Tractarian, and has a large number of admirers. He is a clear and graceful writer, and not wanting in force. He is an indefatigable preacher of "culture" which is something consisting of " light, sweetness, and strength;" but, like other teachers of the day, he is more effective in pulling down than in building up, and the precise nature of his special varnish we are unable, after some study, to ascertain. He is very angry with the Daily Telegraph, the great organ of those whom he has been for years calling "Philistines," for calling him "a Jeremiah" in return, and we shall certainly not give him that name, although it is rather our reverence for the inspired writer than our regard to Mr. Arnold's feelings that forbids it; but we cannot help being touched with the really earnest sense of the hollowness of all the religion of which he knows any thing, and the sorrowful forebodings of evil that peep out from beneath his apparent dilettanteism. The following passage from his farewell lecture in the Chair of Poetry at Oxford expresses his convictions: "We are all of us enrolled in some religious organisation or other; we all call ourselves in the sublime and aspiring language of religion children of God. Children of God-it is an immense pretension; and how are we to justify it? By the works

which we do and the words which we speak? And the work which we collective children of God do, our grand centre of life, our city, is London! London with its unutterable external hideousness and its internal canker of 'publice egestas, privatim opulentia'—to use the words which Sallust puts in Cato's mouth about Rome—unequalled in the world." And his presentiments are well expressed, and under a figure not very different from Mr. Carlyle's, in a passage a year old, which we can quote only from memory, in which he speaks of himself as watching a great wave that is approaching, and wondering where England, which has risen on the crest of many a like

wave before, will be when it has passed.

We have seen something of the feeling of political and literary writers; how do those speak who represent schools of religion? The party that probably contains the greatest number of devout and earnest men, and certainly produces the greatest quantity of not altogether unreadable books, is that of the last phase of Tractarianism. We need hardly quote the utterances of this school. Our readers will remember the extracts which we gave from the first series of The Church and the World, descriptive of the past and present state and the future prospects of religion in the Establishment. The Unionist varnish of chasubles, lights, and incense, a sacrifice which is not the Mass, and a doctrine of a Real Presence which is not Transubstantiation, a belief in the Catholic Church with the Holy See left out, and a readiness to be reunited to Rome when Rome proclaims herself an impostor, is little less amusing than the schemes of other visionaries; but the Unionist perception of the dreary unreality of Protestantism in general and of the ordinary Protestantism of the Establishment in particular is most intense, and is clearly and forcibly expressed; and hardly less strong is the evident conviction of the party that the "bulwark" or "breakwater" which they are trying to reconstruct is at present altogether insufficient to resist the coming tempest, and will utterly fail in the hour of trial, except upon the supposition, highly improbable to all "intelligent outsiders," that the ninety-nine hundredths of it which are still arranged on Protestant principles will have previously submitted to their manipulation. Their newspapers warn the authorities that if they are prevented from carrying on their varnishing process, they will not answer for the consequences; and hint not obscurely that the bishops above all " had better beware how they pull the building about," the state of the building being evidently too unsound to bear meddling with except by themselves. In the lately published series of graver Essays, we read of a "cachectic state of the body," which "prevents self-purification," of " the vast chaos of contradiction into which the

Church's rights and customs are plunged," of her "paralysis," and of steps to be taken "if she would avoid rapid disintegration."

But the learning and piety of the Establishment are not monopolised by the Unionists. There are others as thoughtful and earnest, who love what is called the Church of England, and believe in a certain sense in its sacraments, and wish to revive its discipline and restore its influence, without any desire to imitate the ritual or adopt the teaching of Catholics. We do not know who is the author of Ecclesia Dei and its supplement Church Life, but he is evidently a man who has been earnestly pondering on the state of religion in England, and not without uneasiness. It is unfortunate for the success of his works that as some men cannot think deeply without knitting their brows and biting their nails, so with him profound thought produces a singularly involved and artificial style. The second of the two books just named is put forth in answer to objections made against the first on this very ground, and seems to imply that it is under the pressure of a strong sense of the unreality-or, as he calls it, "vapourousness"—of the religious language ordinarily current, that he has adopted the mode of speech which so much increases the labour of his readers. He, like others, has a varnish to recommend, and is uncommonly confident in its virtues. It consists of a revival of devotion of a mitigated kind to the Church Triumphant, and of a scheme for parochial, diocesan, and provincial synods for mutual edification and Church work. His tone is throughout very sanguine, and his belief that the Church of England contains in herself all that is necessary to constitute a part of the "Church of God" very decided, and this makes his testimony the more worthy of attention; while his repeated exhortations to the moderate High Churchmen, whom he represents, not to despond, betray his own misgivings. What he has observed and what he fears, may be gathered from such passages as the following, which differ from others in being clearly intelligible:

"In the heightening complexity of man's efforts there is an unprecedented stress and urgency in the difficulties which trouble us.... Our own expedients can only increase the corruptions and errors, the meanness and lifelessness which we are now deploring.... The impaired and broken materials, the darkened testimony and disorganised societies in which it (the Church of England) is now actually beheld .... The only anxiety which such men entertain is, whether the Church's true methods shall be soon and hopefully realised by a willing conversion of man to the true order of being, or whether they shall be forced on us by the penalties of some terrible retribution for our neglect of them and contempt of God's authority."

Again, the alternate raving and drivelling of Exeter Hall and the nauseous nonsense with which the Tract Society floods the press ought not to blind us to the fact that there is still a fair number of worthy representatives of the best days of Evangelicalism, - men who, although they believe in no Church but the invisible confederacy of pious souls, and see no supernatural virtue even in baptism, have a real trust in the efficacy of the Atonement and in the operations of the Holy Spirit, and a real desire to live to the glory of God. A truly admirable book by an eloquent writer of this class, under the title of Ecce Deus, has lately reached a second edition. Its chief aim is to oppose the sophisms of the Ecce Homo, by setting forth the Divine Nature of our Lord; and as far as this can be done by one whose own belief, like that of many of the most devout Protestants, is only a modification of Nestorianism, it is ably accomplished. The book contains many passages which we should be glad to quote, and with the spirit of which, notwithstanding the greater apparent difference in belief, we cannot help feeling it easier to sympathise than with most of the Unionist writing; but we must limit ourselves to a specimen of what belongs to our present subject, the writer's impressions of the hollowness of existing systems and institutions.

"Society is very careful of its extremities, its purple and its rags, but midway is there not a great cemetery filled with living hearts, whose only hope is death? Is it, then, really human nature or human circumstances on which benevolence is operating? . . . . The Church (now understanding by that term the organised sects) is not willing to lose its life that it may gain others; hence it is the weakest and, humanly speaking, the most despicable institution which men are now tolerating. It is afraid of amusement; it is afraid of heresy; it is afraid of contamination; it is afraid of sinners; it is afraid of the devil. All this must come from a low condition of vitality. It shuts itself up within thick walls, sings its hymns, hears its periodical platitudes, and then skulks into the common streets, as if afraid lest the multitude should know what it had been doing. Nothing can be more Un-Christ-like that is not positively devilish. The worst feature of this cowardly fear is that it is often expressed in a bad spirit, venom being mistaken for strength. . . . . The Church can hold its position only so long as it can excel all rivals in the completeness of its answers to the great problems of the human mind. The measure of its completeness is the measure of its supremacy. If science and philosophy return completer answers than the Church, then the Church is a deposed power, and God has raised up the very stones as children to Abraham. The Church might have been first, but its title has, if such be the case, been foregone. . . . . She holds the keys only so long as she gives the complete answer; when she fails in that, she is disinherited and degraded."

There are, no doubt, other writers, and even within the pale of the Establishment, whose satisfaction in the course that things are taking is greater, and whose expectations are those of progress in what they think the right direction. But their testimony does but confirm the forebodings of others; for the golden days, the advent of which they proclaim and hail, are to shine on a national temple of concord in which harmony is maintained by the mutual proscription of all offensive dogma, and the Supreme Being is honoured with that amount of recognition which the impalpable residue of "our common Christianity" may supply. Our readers may perhaps call to mind some forcible descriptions of the disintegrating and anarchical elements of the national Protestantism, and predictions of an approaching dissolution of its existing forms, to which the Archbishop of Westminster is indebted for that special bitterness with which he is spoken of even by some of those of his former admirers who profess to be most closely united to him in religious belief; and may be of opinion that such testimonies as those which we have collected amount to no more, when stripped of adventitious colouring, than a corroboration of his warnings. This is what we think ourselves. They amount to no more; but they amount to no less.

But if there is good reason, from the appearances of things about us and from the forebodings of thoughtful men of widely different schools, to expect that the next generation will witness the breaking up on an extensive scale of old systems, and the sweeping away of much that has long formed the chief support-hollow, though assiduously varnished-of the religious life of the bulk of the population, and all this attended by a considerable change in the distribution of political power, will not the Catholics of the next generation find new duties and higher demands for mental training awaiting them? We are no prophets, and we have purposely employed general and somewhat indefinite terms in speaking of the changes which, in accordance with the consentient testimony of varnishers and anti-varnishers of all kinds, we confidently anticipate. We have no means of determining either the date or the amount of these changes, the precise direction which they will follow, or their ultimate issue. But whatever forms they may take, it seems certain that their effect will be to precipitate the course and extend the range of three great movements already and for some time past in active operation. There is, first, a tide of scepticism, deeper and wider than the latitudinarianism of the last century, which is sweeping away old beliefs, good and bad alike, and silently undermining a vast amount of what it has as yet allowed to stand. Recoiling from this, or dashing against it, or mingled with it, there is, in the second place, another tide of

inquiry and speculation, carrying along, they know not whither, a great multitude of homeless souls in want of a resting-place, and landing them in a strange variety of systems, mostly old forms of heresy hastily arranged for their accommodation. These two movements give additional importance to the transition from contemptuous ignorance to distinct recognition of the Catholic body, which is a third notable change in the public mind.

The shock of a too sudden discovery brought on a general fit of delirium tremens in 1850; but, except that one or two M.P.'s and others have unfortunately remained in a state of hopeless though harmless lunacy ever since, the seizure did no permanent harm, and the effect on the whole was good. After all that activity in stopping the ears and throwing dust in the air, and crying out "Great are the Lion and the Unicorn!" it was less easy to shut the eyes to the unpleasant vision which had raised the outcry and would not vanish before it; and the fact that the Church of St. Augustine and St. Anselm really exists and makes way in England is more and more accepted, and not unprofitably studied. From the direction that things are taking, it seems evident that each of these three movements will go on extending itself, and not unlikely that they may receive a sudden and rapid development from the course of events.

About one result we can, of course, have no misgivings. We need not watch the coming waves to see whether the lifeboat of the only real "Church of England" rides safely over them. It will at the least weather the storms in which many time-honoured and wellvarnished systems will founder around it, and it will give shelter to a multitude of drowning men. But whether its mission of mercy is fulfilled on a large or a small scale, and whether its own crew pass wholly unscathed through the commotion, must depend on the degree in which they are prepared for the crisis. It is hard for middleaged and elderly Catholics at all to realise the immense difference between their own prospects as young men and the work lying ready for the rising generation. When we picture to ourselves the bands of smiling faces that have lately reappeared at Beaumont or Edgbaston, and think of the part which the future merchants, members of parliament, magistrates, and professional men will be called upon to sustain, the greater publicity of their lives, the openings in every direction both for influencing and being influenced, and the morbid mental activity, the omnigenous heresies, the denials of first principles, and incessant questionings, with which they will be in close contact,—the joyful expectation of good to be done which we shall not live to see can hardly fail of being tempered by some anxiety as to their more immediate preparation for the work of life.

Till they are seventeen or eighteen years old they are well provided The result of the investigations and discussions that have lately taken place is, we think, on the whole, to make us gratefully acknowledge that the Catholic colleges possess most of the advantages of the Protestant public schools and few of their defects. When Catholics were shut out of public and professional life, and did not mingle much in Protestant society, and had little to do with controversy, and that little such as could be sustained on a moderate knowledge of Scripture and the Catechism, the want of a higher transitional course of study between college and the duties of life, although still a want, was not urgently felt nor disastrously prejudicial. But how completely the opposite will be the case now! Of what vital importance will it be for all Catholics above the class of shopkeepers and artisans to have been prepared by an interval of greater freedom and self-dependence than is consistent with the discipline of a school, yet, at the same time, sufficiently sheltered from anarchy and dissipation, by enlarged mutual intercourse and the friction of mind with mind, by a course of sound philosophy dealing with great principles rather than fancies, by a fearless and comprehensive acquaintance with modern scientific discovery, by the acquisition of logical accuracy and clear-sightedness, and of skill in detecting fallacies and in drawing conclusions, and by the study of the dogma, discipline, and history of the Church, for the dangerous and difficult enterprise to which they are called? "A school," as Professor Sullivan well puts it, " cannot possibly fulfil the functions of an university, or do its work; the more effective a school is as such, the more unfit it is as a place for university students. The converse of this is also true: to teach the rudiments of knowledge is not the work of an university. The discipline of a school is intended for boys; the discipline of the university should be suited for youth about to assume the responsibility of manhood." There is some truth in his remark that the affiliation of schools to such an institution as the London University multiplies and aggravates the evil results of "this serious educational error," i. e. of the notion which he combats, that a residence of an additional year or two at a collegiate school can be an adequate substitute for an university course. "The function of the university teacher is to show the youth provided with his elementary intellectual tools how to use them profitably, in increasing his store of facts, developing his own reason, analysing the opinions of others, and by synthesis forming for himself a healthy opinion

<sup>\*</sup> University Education in Ireland: a Letter, &c. by W. H. Sullivan. 1866. P. 35.

concerning the moral and physical laws of the universe, instead of merely reflecting the views of others."\*

The guidance of authority and the self-discipline of independence, the voice of living teachers and the research of private study, intercourse with students from different schools and interchange of ideas with minds of different moulds, and the claims of literature, science, philosophy, and religious instruction, have all to be secured and combined; and no mere prolongation of an ordinary college course, much less any mere machinery of examinations and diplomas, can ever fully secure the desired end. On the other hand, we must not be frightened at the term University, or attach too much importance to the mere numbers, or to the material wealth, or to the local circumstances of the Protestant Universities. More than half the actual residents of Oxford might probably be absent with great advantage instead of injury to the real students. And the wealth of Gothic buildings and even-what are not unimportant-the genius loci and the atmosphere of old traditions are, after all, by no means of the essence of what is most wanted. Now that it is definitively settled for all good Catholics that we are not to think of the Protestant colleges of Oxford or Cambridge, it is time to think of something There are other meadows on the banks of the Thames as fair as those of Christchurch, and roads as good for walking or riding as Bagley or Shotover, and railways that would make the scientific and literary force of the metropolis available, and fatherly hands to which the future Catholic aristocracy may be safely committed. is probably as well that no steps have as yet been taken. had to be felt before it could be profitably supplied. Mr. Sullivan seems of opinion that the Catholic University in Ireland was, in one sense, premature, that Father Newman was beforehand with the public mind, and that the higher classes, satisfied with the results of emancipation, hardly showed themselves sufficiently alive to the new obligations resulting from it, With our additional experience, we trust that it will surely not be so with us in England. the private tastes of our nobility and gentry led them to desire for their children something of the quiet isolation and uneventful tenor of their own early manhood, they must see that this can hardly be. They cannot close the open door, nor master the elemental strife into which their children must pass. To hold up the torch of truth to a crowd of benighted wanderers weary of their wanderings and ready to fling themselves over precipices, and to stand firm themselves in the midst of dizzy tumult and wild confusion, is an honour-

<sup>\*</sup> University Education in Ireland, p. 10.

able and blessed, but most arduous task. Loyalty to God and the Holy See are indispensable, and will do much; but they will not dispense from the necessity of previous training. Without such special gifts of infused science and high contemplation as are the portion of very few indeed, even the deepest piety of an uneducated or halfeducated mind would be unequal to the work. It is certainly unbecoming in those who, even at the present moment, and with the boast of liberality on their lips, would debar Catholics from intellectual culture except at the price of danger to their faith, to reproach us with our past deficiencies, real or supposed. But it may not be impossible to ourselves to consider the taunts of our adversaries. They may point out to us the work which those among us who are now young may be called on to perform. The preparation must be mainly accomplished in the three or four years which follow on the close of schoolboy life. On the way in which the rising generation shall spend those years how much depends!

## The History of Galileo.

### II.

WE have seen how Galileo had been drawn away by the attacks of his opponents from the scientific question of the Copernican system of the universe to the perilous ground of the interpretation of Scrip-The bold and dangerous principles on this subject which he had been led by his impetuous character to put forward in his hasty letter to Fr. Castelli had given a handle to his adversaries of which they had not been slow to avail themselves, and the consequence was his denunciation before the Congregation of the Index by Fr. Lorini. Every opportunity, however, was still afforded him of extricating himself from the false position into which he had been thrown, and Galileo had himself to complain of the tardiness of the sacred tribunal in prosecuting the charge against him. He was recommended by the Cardinals del Monte, Borghese, Orsini, and by other members of the Sacred Congregation, to abstain from the expression of any angry or embittered feelings; and he was assured that his honesty and sincerity of purpose were fully recognised. He was told that he was at liberty to hold his opinions, but that he should avoid urging their adoption upon others. Cardinal Bellarmine, with whom Mgr. Dini had spoken at the request of Galileo, gave it as his opinion that there was no question of forbidding the doctrine of Copernicus; but recommended Galileo, if he had occasion to speak of it, to advance it only as a theory, to avoid altogether the ground of Scripture, and to leave the interpretation of the latter to approved doctors of theology. Galileo's headstrong character, however, would not allow him to keep silence. Against the advice of his friends, and instead of employing himself, as they recommended him, in strengthening his position by further scientific proofs, he was bent on coming to Rome, and dissipating by his presence the prejudices and calumnies which his enemies had raised against him. He increased his difficulties by the letter which he addressed to Christina, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, grandmother to the reigning duke, and in which he laboured to justify his principles of the explanation of Scripture. A good Catholic at heart, Galileo was carried away by

the heat of dispute, and, unconsciously to himself, to the enunciation of principles which lead logically to rationalism and a denial of the authority of the Church. "In the discussion of questions of natural philosophy, it seems to me," he says, "that we must not take as our starting-point the authority of the text of Scripture, but the experience of the senses, and demonstrative proofs. Both Holy Scripture and Nature proceed alike from the Divine Word; the one dictated by the Holy Spirit, the other executing with obedience the works of God. And as the Holy Scriptures contain, in order to accommodate themselves to the understandings of the generality, many things which apparently and in their strict meaning are at variance with absolute truth, whilst, on the contrary, Nature, inexorable and immovable in its character, never oversteps the laws which are imposed upon it, and does not trouble itself to inquire whether its reasons and modes of action are on a level with the comprehension of man, it seems to me that whatever the effects of nature or the experience of the senses exhibit to our sight, or whatever demonstration necessarily proves, can never be called in question, and much less condemned, on the ground of passages of Scripture which would seem in their literal sense to contradict it. For every word of Scripture is not fettered by such strict obligations as is every effect in nature; and God reveals Himself with no less excellence by natural effects than by the sacred language of Scripture."\* In another passage he begs the Church to give her decision, but only after a careful examination and consideration of the reasons which can be alleged on He declares that the Sovereign Pontiff has absolute power to approve or condemn even propositions which do not strictly relate to matters of faith, but that there are some which it is beyond the power of any human creature to make either true or false.

Here we see not only falsity of opinion, but also that self-contradiction which, in his desire to reconcile his loyalty as a good Catholic with his determination to enforce his own interpretation of Scripture, it was impossible for Galileo to avoid. In a question between a physical theory of science and the text of Holy Scripture, Scripture is to give way. The Church, the Interpreter of Holy Scripture, is to yield to the philosophers who interpret Nature. A scientific theory, which may to-morrow be allowed by scientific men themselves to be false, is to take the precedence of the infallible judgment of the Church. Such is the principle inculcated by Galileo; and what is this but to declare science to be independent of faith, and not only to destroy all connection between the natural and the supernatural, but to make the supernatural subordinate to

<sup>\*</sup> Parchappe, Life of Galileo, p. 113.

the natural, and reason superior to faith? And yet, though the experiments and the reasoning of scientific men are to overrule the judgment of the Church, the Holy Father, as the organ of the Church, is asked to give his absolute decision upon the question in debate, though only after he has heard the reasons on both sides. Such is the incoherence and contradiction into which Galileo is betrayed by his unfortunate attempt to support his scientific con-

clusions by his arbitrary explanation of Holy Scripture.

The proceedings instituted against him had, in the mean time, been going on, though tardily. The denunciation had been made by Fr. Lorini on Feb. 5, 1615. On the 26th of the same month the secretary of the Congregation wrote, at the order of Cardinal Mellini, to the Archbishop of Pisa and the inquisitor of that city to procure the original copy of Galileo's letter to Fr. Castelli. Caccini, the Dominican, who had attacked Galileo from the pulpit in Florence, and was now in Rome, was, on the 20th of March, interrogated juridically, by order of the Pope, before the Commissary-General of the Inquisition, concerning the errors of Galileo. His deposition was sent the following month to Florence, with orders to interrogate several persons named by Fr. Caccini, and amongst others the Dominican, Fr. Ximenes. It was not until the following November that Fr. Ximenes appeared before the Inquisitor, and declared the opinion regarding the movement of the earth to be diametrically opposed to sound theology and philosophy. He also deposed to having heard from Galileo's scholars several false opinions regarding the nature of God.\* It was evident that there was no hurry to press matters against Galileo, -so little so that even Galileo himself complained of the delay; and every thing leads to the belief that, could he only have been induced to keep silence, he would not have been disturbed. But he was bent on coming to Rome, though he could hardly have appeared there under more unfavourable circumstances, the position which he had assumed in his letter to the Grand Duchess Christina, by entering upon the discussion of the most delicate theological questions, having raised up against him, in addition to his former peripatetic opponents, fresh adversaries in those whose apprehensions had been awakened by his bold and unauthorised interpretation of Holy Scripture. Yet he was treated with much consideration in Rome, and he was able to write from thence, in January 1616, to the secretary of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, with much satisfaction at having had the opportunity of stating before the most distinguished assemblies the proofs of the new system of the universe, and of having dissipated the calumnies

<sup>\*</sup> Ms. of the Process, fo, 371.

which had been raised against him. He would not, however, learn prudence. "He is carried away by his own opinions," wrote Guicchardini, ambassador to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; "he is of a most impetuous character, and he will not master it."\* One day when Cardinal Orsini was speaking with the Pope in favour of Galileo, Paul V. replied to him that he would do well to persuade his friend to abandon his opinion; and, on Orsini insisting, the Sovereign Pontiff cut short the interview by saying that the matter had been put into the hands of the Cardinals of the Holy Office. When Cardinal Orsini had retired, the Pope called for Cardinal Bellarmine, and they both agreed that the opinion entertained by Galileo was erroneous and heretical. The new theory of the system of the world was as yet so imperfectly established, that it could form no ground for admitting a new interpretation of Scripture; and Galileo's mode of endeavouring to establish this new interpretation, besides setting him in contradiction to the received teaching of the Fathers, went to destroy the authority of the Church.

On the 19th of February, a copy of the propositions, the censure of which was demanded, was sent to all the fathers and theologians of the Congregation. The propositions were reduced to two: first, that the sun was the centre of the world, and consequently wholly without local movement; secondly, that the earth was not the centre of the world, nor immovable, but that it moved on its own axis by a diurnal motion. All declared that the first proposition was senseless and absurd in philosophy, and formally heretical, since it expressly contradicted numerous texts of Holy Scripture, according to the proper meaning of the words and the common interpretation of the holy Fathers and theologians. All declared that the second proposition merited the same censure in philosophy, and that theologically it was at least erroneous in point of faith. On the following day, Feb. 25, Cardinal Mellini notified to the assessor and commissary of the holy office the censure passed by the theologians on the propositions of Galileo, and the Pope ordered Cardinal Bellarmine to summon Galileo and inform him that he must abandon his opinion. If he refused to obey, the commissary of the sacred office was, in presence of a notary and witnesses, to intimate to him the order to abstain altogether from teaching or maintaining this opinion or even having anything to do with it, and that if he did not comply with this order, he was to be put in prison. The order was communicated to Galileo, and he promised to obey. We shall have occasion to see hereafter how he kept his promise. On the 5th of March a decree was published, in which the reading of five separate works

<sup>\*</sup> Opere di Galileo, vol. vi. p. 226.

was forbidden. Amongst these none of Galileo's numerous works appear. It concludes, however, with the following paragraph, which was a sufficient intimation to Galileo:

"Since it has come to the knowledge of the said Congregation that this false doctrine of Pythagoras, altogether contrary to Holy Scripture, on the movement of the earth and the immovability of the sun, taught by Copernicus in his work on the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies, and by Diego de Zunica in his work on Job, is already widely spread and has been adopted by many persons, as may be seen in a letter by a Carmelite father, entitled 'A Letter of the Rev. Fr. Foscarini, Carmelite, on the opinions of the Pythagoreans and Copernicus, touching the movement of the earth and the stability of the sun, and the new Pythagorean system of the world,' printed at Naples in 1615, in which the said father endeavours to show that the said doctrine is in accordance with the truth and not opposed to Scripture, the Congregation, in order that this opinion may not spread further, to the detriment of Catholic truth, has determined to suspend the two works of Copernicus and Diego de Zunica until they be corrected, to prohibit entirely and condemn the book of Fr. Foscarini, and to prohibit also all other books teaching the same doctrine, as by the present decree it prohibits, condemns, and suspends all and each."

Neither the name of Galileo nor the title of any of his works is mentioned in the decree; he is comprehended only in the general condemnation. He was not required to retract, and no penalty was imposed upon him. He received a note from Cardinal Bellarmine to contradict the malevolent reports raised on this point concerning The opinion which Galileo himself formed of the effect of the prohibition he expresses as follows: "The result of the matter," he writes in a letter on the 6th of March, "proves that my opinion has not been received by the Church. It has only declared that the opinion is not in conformity with Holy Scripture, and consequently such books alone as would prove that this opinion is not opposed to Scripture are prohibited."\* The view taken by Galileo is borne out by a "Monitum" of the Congregation of the Index, which in 1620 permitted the reading of the works of Copernicus, provided certain corrections were made. The reason why these works had been condemned was, according to the Congregation, because Copernicus, instead of speaking hypothetically, had presented his theory of the movement of the earth as certainly true (verissima), whereas it is repugnant to the text of Holy Scripture and its true and Catholic interpretation. Such passages, then, are to be corrected as affirm

<sup>\*</sup> Opere di Galileo, vol. vi. p. 231.

the movement of the earth otherwise than as a hypothesis; and with these corrections the works may be read on account of the many valuable things they contain. But the hypothesis is false, according to the Congregation, and contrary to Holy Scripture.

What is the value, then, of the decree of March 5th, and did the Congregation act right in coming to such a decision? The Abbé Bouix, in his valuable work on Galileo,\* shows that the decree is merely disciplinary in its effect. The Congregation of the Index, as he tells us, is a high ecclesiastical tribunal charged by the Sovereign Pontiff with the office of indicating works the reading of which would be dangerous to the faithful. Catholics are bound to act conformably to its decisions, but not necessarily to submit their will and judgment to the expressions used regarding the condemned books. It is an executive commission which they must obey, since such is the will of the Sovereign Pontiff; but its doctrinal authority, though claiming the highest reverence, is not absolute. The Head of the Church can delegate to it a portion of his supreme jurisdiction, but cannot communicate to it his infallibility, which is incommunicable. No mention is made, and there appears no evidence, in the decree of 1616, of the approbation of the Sovereign Pontiff, and no brief is adduced in confirmation of it. Did the Congregation do right in coming to such a decision? In pronouncing this astronomical theory false, it was mistaken; as also in declaring it to be contrary to Scripture when it is not so. But the state of science at the time did not allow of the admission of the new theory of the movement of the earth, especially as it appeared before the tribunal not as a scientific doctrine, but as a doctrine at variance with the traditional sense of Holy Scripture. It was on this account condemned in the seventeenth century by a tribunal which now, in the nineteenth century, would undoubtedly approve of it, and yet without modifying the principles on which it acted. The decree of 1616 was a measure of prudence; it was in order to prevent any injury to Catholic truth; "ne in perniciem Catholica veritatis serpat." This was the determining motive; and in this respect the difference between the expression of censure by the consultors and that of the decree of the Congregation is worthy of remark. The consultors declare the opinion to be senseless, absurd, and heretical; whereas the Congregation confines itself to declaring the doctrine to be false and contrary to Scripture. We may remark also the difference between the two parts of the censure of the consultors. The first opinion is condemned unreservedly; the second, which denied the immobility of the earth, is simply declared erroneous. According to Galileo, the

<sup>\*</sup> La Condemnation de Galilée. Par M. l'Abbé Bouix.

sun is without any local movement whatever; whereas the contrary is now established. The doctrine of the movement of the earth was far from being scientifically established at this time. How, then, can an ecclesiastical tribunal be fairly blamed for not immediately adopting a theory which was scientifically established only at a later period, and refusing, on the ground of such a theory, to modify an interpretation of Scripture which had been adopted for centuries?

The character, moreover, of the times was such as to call for the adoption of every precaution and safeguard against the spread of principles which bore but too close a resemblance to those of Protestantism. And such was the character and temperament of Galileo that it was necessary to put a check upon his impetuosity and imprudence; it would be easier for him to keep silence altogether on the subject of his theory than to advance it only on the ground of pure hypothesis. The result shows that this was the case, and justifies the prudence of Paul V. in the prohibition placed upon him.

As regards even the scientific proofs on which the doctrine of Copernicus was established at this period, they were far from giving it that amount of probability which it has gained from subsequent astronomical discoveries. Even at present, as has lately been shown, the theory fails to explain many phenomena. Amongst scientific men of the time it met with strong opposition. Tyco Brahè, though he rejected in part the system of Ptolemy, was not prepared to adopt that of Copernicus. Vietus, to whom we owe the existence of algebra, maintained in his Harmonium Coeleste that the system of Copernicus was based on false geometry. Copernicus was, indeed, mistaken in giving the planets a circular instead of an elliptic orbit. Galileo himself had spoken originally with great contempt of the doctrines which he now advocated so warmly. There existed, in fact, scientific objections against the truth of the new theory, to which later discoveries alone, with the aid of the greater perfection of astronomical instruments, have supplied a satisfactory solution. We may add that some of the arguments brought forward by Galileo himself were not perfectly sound, and some have been declared by men of science to be simply absurd. Hence, as M. Biot remarks, if Galileo himself has made use of reasons both bad and good, there may be some excuse for the theologians of the Holy Office if they could not distinguish the good from the bad. When such was the state of science, and when the character of the times was such as to call in a special manner for prudence, it is not surprising that the Sacred Congregation should have condemned a doctrine which came before them, not as a question of science, but as a question of the interpretation of Scripture.

Galileo himself was still treated with great consideration. Before leaving Rome, a few days after the publication of the decree, he was admitted to an audience with the Pope, which he described himself as being most kind-"benignissima udienza." The interview lasted for three-quarters of an hour. Galileo explained the motives which had led him to come to Rome, and spoke of the enmity and calumnies of which he was the object. Paul V. replied that he was fully convinced of his right intentions and sincerity of purpose; and on Galileo expressing some anxiety lest he might be still exposed to the ill-will of his enemies, the Pope desired him to set his mind at rest on this point, for that both he himself and all the cardinals of the Congregation of the Index had formed such an opinion of him as would prevent their giving credence lightly to any calumnies against him. "As long as I am alive," added the Pope, "you may rest in security;" and he repeated several times to him before he left that he would be ready on all occasions to give him proofs of his protection.\*

Thus things remained for many years; from 1616 to 1632 no new measures were taken against Galileo. In the retirement of his villa at Bellosguardo, near Florence, he wrote and published several works, and was honoured and esteemed at Rome. Stolliota, a physician, and at the same time a philosopher and mathematician, of Naples, wrote to him in 1616 recommending him a course of action, which, whilst it respected the decision of the Congregation, suggested a means of bringing about a reconsideration of the decree. "It is for professors of science," he says, "to expose the calumnies of sophists. The design of superiors is right and holy; but, as the decree of 1616 was passed without a hearing of both parties, the matter should be revised; a memorial should be presented by the professors of mathematics of other countries. Call the attention of those who are intrusted with the care of the world to the fact that those who would create discord between science and religion are no friends to either." Amongst the most considerate of Galileo's opponents was the Jesuit Father Grassi, who in his book entitled Libra Astronomica, though written in opposition to his doctrines, treated him with remarkable moderation. Galileo made choice of Rome, as being the place where he experienced most esteem and affection, for the publication of his reply to Father Grassi-the Saggiatore. It appeared under the form of a letter to Mgr. Cesarini, Maestro di Camera to Pope Urban VIII., and was dedicated by the Academy of the Lyncei, who undertook to print it, to the Pope himself. The permission to print it, of the date of Feb. 2, 1623, contains the following laudatory expres-

<sup>\*</sup> Opere di Galileo, vol. vi. p. 236.

sions: "I have read by order of the Master of the Sacred Palace the work entitled Saggiatore, and besides finding nothing contrary to morals or at variance with the supernatural truths of faith, I have observed so many striking reflections on natural philosophy, that I think our age may be proud of possessing one who is not only the inheritor of the labours of his predecessors, but the discoverer of many secrets of nature which were hidden to them, as is proved by the ingenious and learned theories of the author, of whom I am happy in being a contemporary."\* It must have been gratifying to Galileo to receive from Father Riccardi so striking a reparation for the conduct of the two religious of his order, Fathers Caccini and Lorini. His joy would have been no less in seeing in the chair of St. Peter in 1623 his old friend and admirer, under the name of Urban VIII., who, as Cardinal Maffei Barberini, had even celebrated his discoveries in verse. Another friend, Mgr. Ciampoli, had been appointed Secretary of Briefs to Urban VIII. He often spoke of Galileo in terms of high praise to the Pope, who always

listened with marked interest and good-will.

Galileo was resolved on turning to account the favourable dispositions with which he was regarded. He had formed the project of coming to Rome on hearing of the nomination of Urban VIII., and wrote to Prince Cesi, "I am meditating a plan of some importance to the republic of letters." This was evidently to procure a reversal of the decree of March 5, 1616. The prince encouraged him in his idea of coming to Rome, and his friends were unanimous in wishing for his presence. He was informed on the part of Cardinal Barberini, in reply to his inquiries as to whether his visit would be agreeable to the Pope, that Urban VIII. would always be glad to see him. "I shall have great pleasure in seeing him," were the words of the Pope which were conveyed to him, "provided his health do not suffer from the journey-for great men such as he ought to take care of themselves, in order to live as long a time as they can." Urban VIII. was careful to inform himself regarding the recent works of Galileo, and would have the Saggiatore read to him at table, and was greatly pleased with it. In the learned world there was but one opinion regarding it. Every thing appeared to favour the plan of Galileo. He accordingly decided on coming to Rome, and arrived there in the month of April 1624. He wrote from thence with great joy to his friend Prince Cesi, and spoke of his distinguished reception by his Holiness, with whom he had had as many as six interviews. Urban VIII. at the same time addressed a brief to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II., which contained the

<sup>\*</sup> Opere di Galileo, vol. ix. p. 26.

most flattering praises of Galileo. The Pope spoke of his labours and astronomical discoveries, and said, "We have found in him not only great literary distinction, but also a love of religion and all the qualities which can merit our pontifical favour." The Cardinal Hohenzoller promised Galileo that he would speak to the Pope in favour of his project before leaving for Germany. This he accordingly did; and on his representing to the Pope the necessity of proceeding with circumspection regarding the opinion of Copernicus, and that if it were true, it could not be condemned, the Holy Father replied that "the Church had not condemned and never would condemn the opinion as heretical, but only as rash." The Master of the Palace remained neuter between the opinions of Ptolemy and Copernicus, and declared that it was not a point of faith, and that it should not be mixed up with the question of Holy Scripture. Galileo's position was thus most favourable; and though the Congregation of the Index maintained its decree in force, many persons appeared to incline to favour the theory of the movement of the earth. Fr. Grassi had said, in conversation with Guiducci, "As soon as the movement of the earth is demonstrated, it will be advisable to interpret Scripture differently from the received interpretation; such is the opinion of Cardinal Bellarmine."

TOU.

## French Schemes for the Inbasion of England.

## II.

From the breaking out of the war, which, as the Comte de Broglie had foreseen, was the immediate result of the treaty between France and the insurgent Americans, until the conclusion of peace in 1783, fresh schemes for the invasion of England were continually soliciting the attention of the French government. Only a few of these, however, contain any thing very original or very striking. They are mostly either readaptations or new combinations of former plans, with suggestions either borrowed from De Broglie or such as had been already considered and rejected by him. At the same time they are interesting from the insight which they give into the circumstances of the two nations at the time, and into the state of public feeling in France, and are strewn with various bits of curious information. Those which are most worth noticing were drawn up about the same time,—towards the end of 1780 or in the beginning of 1781.

As there is no particular chronological order to be observed, we will begin with the document which comes next in importance to that of De Broglie, and although not so carefully prepared, and entering much less into details, is remarkable for the same union of sagacity with boldness. It is a Mémoire sent from Madrid to the French Minister early in 1781, by the Duc de Crillon, who had distinguished himself as a French officer in the Wars of the Succession and in the Seven Years' War, and was now a general in the Spanish service. A pupil of the Marshal de Belle-Isle, he had adopted with enthusiasm his patron's ideas on the importance of invading England; and in his own published memoir of himself he mentions two previous schemes, one containing "observations" which he sent from Dunkerque in 1759 to Paris and to the coast of Brittany, and the other, a proposal which he communicated himself to the king immediately after "Mr. de Conflans' unfortunate day,"\* with a model of a new kind of gunboat, of very moderate cost and drawing little water,

<sup>\*</sup> November 20, 1750: see former article, p. 151.

which would be found useful for descents upon the south of England. The rejection of this scheme, although highly approved both by the King and the Duc de Choiseul, he attributed to the influence of Mde. de Pompadour, who was angry at his having obtained an audience without her intervention; and seeing that in France it was "worse to be an awkward courtier than a bad citizen," he took the resolution of passing, with the king's leave, into the service of Spain. campaigns in Portugal he had witnessed the valour of the Spanish troops, and had attached them strongly to himself; and this may account for that part of his great project in which he differs most widely from De Broglie, by combining in one invading army the élite of the French and Spanish forces, with the evident expectation of commanding them himself, if his suggestions were acted upon. The chief difficulty with which he had to contend, and which, in fact, prevented his proposals from being listened to with the attention that they eminently deserved, was the disinclination of the Spanish government to relinquish the blockade of Gibraltar. It was fortunate for England that the obstinacy of the king of Spain in sacrificing his own resources and those of France in the vain attempt to recover this fortress was quite equal to that of George III. and his ministers in throwing away blood and treasure in America, and the one was a sort of set-off to the other. De Crillon advised that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs should even go in person to Madrid to reason with the king, and suggested that his love of bold adventure and his passionate desire to see England humbled might be so worked upon as to induce him to suspend all other operations for the sake of the proposed expedition. This was to be upon a grander scale than any previous scheme, and was to number more than 80,000 soldiers and 100 men-of-war. Yet with this imposing demonstration, De Crillon, instead of marching to the sack of London, would have proposed terms of peace, sufficient to indemnify and secure the Allied Powers, but not so overwhelmingly disgraceful to England as to incline her, in the face of such an invading force, to refuse them. His moderation in this respect distinguishes him honourably from a crowd of inferior speculators, who saw no difficulty, with half or a quarter of his proposed army, in holding possession of the English metropolis. He is so persuaded that the appearance of this armament ready to effect a landing would enforce the conclusion of a satisfactory peace, that he does not enter in his plan into any consideration of further operations, but confines himself to the arrangements necessary for clearing the Channel and appearing off the coast. In February several vessels with dispatches to the governors of Martinique and Havannah, announcing to the former

the intended sailing of the French fleet to that destination, and to the latter an intended attack on Jamaica by the Spanish fleet, were to be sent to sea for the purpose of being captured by the English cruisers, who would, of course, put their government in possession of this important intelligence. In April six of the twenty-eight Spanish men-of-war at Cadiz would be left with the French Toulon fleet to command the Mediterranean, for which they would be quite sufficient: and the twenty-two others, with the whole force of 15,000 veteran soldiers engaged in the blockade of Gibraltar, would be dispatched apparently for Jamaica, but would stop at the Azores. At the same time, twenty-five French men-of-war, with 6000 soldiers on board, would start ostensibly for Martinique, but would join the Spanish squadron at the Azores; and while all the available English vessels would be hastening to the West Indies, the forty-seven French and Spanish men-of-war and the 21,000 soldiers would be on their way to Brest. In the mean time, 20,000 more of the best French troops would have been encamped in Brittany, and transports prepared for them as secretly as possible; and as eighteen French ships had remained at Brest, there would thus be an armament of sixty-five men-of-war and 41,000 of the élite of the two armies ready for the coast of Hampshire or Sussex. What defensive forces England had at home would have been all concentrated in another direction, to oppose another armament from the Texel, composed of all the Dutch fleet with a French admiral and six French men-of-war, and a land force of 10,000 Dutch and 30,000 French soldiers, which was to threaten the mouth of the Thames. In case the mere sight of all this formidable array did not lead to the prompt submission of England, it would be utterly impossible for her to prevent the landing of the 41,000 men, if the previous part of the scheme had been carried out. Although various obstacles might have arisen to interfere with these arrangements during the voyage from the Azores, yet, as they certainly might have taken effect, it was perhaps as well for England that the jealousy of the Court of Spain insisted on operations more immediately affecting its own interests. De Crillon, who, however, asserts in his printed memoirs that the invasion of England had been and always would be his favourite scheme, was obliged to yield, and prepared three other plans; one for an attack on Minorca, which was crowned with complete success under his own direction in February 1782; another for taking possession of Jamaica, which the decisive victory of Rodney in the famous engagement with De Grasse rendered hopeless; and the third for a grand assault on Gibraltar, the disastrous results of which-notwithstanding the prodigious efforts of the allied forces

and the great expectations raised by the invention of floating batteries of the *Monitor* type by Colonel D'Arçon, who thought that he had made them incombustible by an ingenious system of internal irrigation—were such as fully to justify De Crillon's previous and more deliberate judgment in 1780, that the idea of retaking this rock was "a mere chimera, and a very mischievous one," and that he would "just as soon attempt to move it with his head." He had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing his predictions of the inutility of the system of warfare pursued by France and Spain all verified, and died in 1796, regretting that he had outlived the friendship of the two nations.

A remarkable document, of quite a different character from De Crillon's, but for different reasons no less interesting, was addressed to the French government about the same time by a private shipowner of Havre, of the name of Faure. It is entitled, Point de vue de la Guerre actuelle, and is dated "end of 1780." Its tone is naturally one of dissatisfaction and complaint, such as the prolonged and complete interruption of French commerce would make loud and strong in a place like Havre. But in a letter addressed to the French minister we should not have expected at that date a boldness and even violence of language that would hardly have been exceeded on the other side of the Channel, and which seem to speak already of the coming tempest of Revolution. It is very remarkable also, that instead of clamouring for peace, like the party in opposition and the dissatisfied classes generally in England at the time, this man of the people insists on a more vigorous prosecution of the war, and promises the king popularity and support, if he will abandon all other schemes, and take in hand that of a speedy invasion of England on a grand scale. His denunciations of desultory and scattered operations resemble those of De Broglie and De Crillon, but are more energetically expressed. He dashes off at once, without preface, in this style:

The result of the three first campaigns seems to be forgotten. France and Spain have lost their time and their money. The capture of Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Senegal cannot reasonably be considered any sort of compensation for the loss of India, of Charlestown, and, above all, of our commerce. The ruin of their commerce is still more fatal to the Americans than to our own colonies. Before France had declared war, before we had so inconsiderately issued letters of marque, there were not so many English cruisers as now. At present the insurgents are in want of every thing; their paper money is worthless; it is discounted at ninety-six per cent. . . . There ought to have been some very strong reasons for the admirals of the two nations with their squadrons united at

Martinique last summer making no attempt on St. Lucia and the English admiral at anchor there. When such occasions are not seized, what success can we ever expect? If Solano, as they say, had no orders, what was the use of the alliance? People observe that an English admiral, whatever orders he has received from the ministers, is always bound to act for the benefit of the nation on his own responsibility. . . . . The war has been allowed to languish in Europe, while we persist in attacking Gibraltar, which will never be Yet it is in Europe that circumstances would enable the combined forces to act on the offensive, and not in America, where we have no means for doing any thing great. At the beginning of the war we said in France that we were ready to sweep the sea; today, on the contrary, it is the English that sweep it. If it were not for a few American privateers cruising outside of the Channel, the English merchants need not trouble themselves about being convoyed. The squadron at Brest ought to be ready to start without a moment's delay, whenever it is known that vessels are about to leave the English ports. The same winds serve the fleets of the two nations for setting sail, and thus they might always meet one another. If the French and Spanish squadrons in the roads of Brest, when Rodney left Plymouth, had started at once, he must have been in great danger. But they took a week to get ready, when they ought to have been quite ready before. It was an infamy. Yet no one was punished, although the result was the loss of six line-ofbattle ships, and the forced inactivity of M. de Guichen.

After much more of the same sort of complaint, M. Faure recommends as better than nothing assaults on Hull, Scarborough, Newcastle, and Yarmouth, but strongly urges the immense advantages of a grand invasion over all other operations whatever. He imagines, what nine years later was realised, and was the beginning of much greater changes, "a representative body, with the right of carrying its complaints to the foot of the throne;" and then puts into the mouth of this supposed assembly an address to the King, pretty freely worded, and interesting as expressing the popular feeling of the day.

Would you, sire, extricate yourself from this war with glory, and humble for ever the most arrogant nation in the world? Land in England with 60,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry. Louis XVI. is spoken of as a virtuous monarch, full of love for his subjects. He would then be regarded by posterity as the greatest king that has ever ruled over the French. . . . Abandon every other operation, and assemble at Brest the whole force of the French and Spanish nations: success will then be absolutely certain. Till then no peace, sire, with England. There will never be a solid peace till after this achievement. Do financial difficulties stand in the way of so great and beneficial a scheme? When your army has once landed in England, address your subjects with confidence. . . . . Your people, sire,

will readily grant your majesty all that is necessary to carry on and accomplish such an enterprise.

In curious contrast with the fervid harangue of the Havre trader, although agreeing with him in the main idea of the desirableness of invading England with an army of 60,000 men, are the voluminous suggestions of the Marquis de Jaucourt, whose name is perhaps better known through his nephew, a distinguished member of the Constituent Assembly and actively employed under the empire. In his first communication to the government, dated Dec. 9, 1779, he lays it down as an axiom that "the Channel gives the English greater facilities for defending their shores with an inferior force than the king's navy has for attacking them with the advantage of numbers on its side." He is of opinion also, in which he was misinformed, that the alarm in England from the expedition that had lately threatened Plymouth, though it had come to nothing, would lead to the abandonment and dismantling of the country round all the points where the French could land, so that their army would have to make three or four days' march before finding food or forage. He runs, in consequence, into some exaggeration in his warnings-very sound in the main-of the necessity of paying greater attention to the commissariat, and of providing abundance not only of stores, but of the means of conveying them. He concludes, after a detailed enumeration of all that would be necessary to secure the safety and comfort of the 60,000 men whom he proposes to embark, that 1000 transports of 160 tons each ought to be prepared for their passage, and that much more activity and intelligence would be required in the operation than had been shown in the attempt lately made. He seems to adopt De Broglie's plan for the march on London by eight stages; but with some hesitation, and with the suggestion of an attack on Plymouth or Falmouth as an alternative, if the expense of the former seemed too great. During the year 1780 the French ministry continued seriously to entertain the idea of a grand invasion, and De Jaucourt was employed all the summer in making investigations on the French coast as to the means of collecting transports and crews. In the documents which were the results of his labours he speaks very clearly of the serious obstacles from the difficulty of procuring sailors, -which, as the government only paid twenty-one francs a month, while fifty francs was the common pay in private vessels, was not to be wondered at,—and from the high rates of freight for transports. He advises a general embargo on the merchant shipping, and the plan of building transports and other vessels instead of hiring them, as at present, at rates which in the course of one year exceeded the cost price, in addition to the loss of all that might be gained by re-

turn cargoes from the colonies and of what the sale of them might produce when no longer wanted. Sensible, however, of the embarrassed state of the public revenue, he only pleads now for the construction of 100 new vessels, instead of 1000 which he had before shown to be necessary. In a third document of February 15, 1782, he speaks still more freely, in consequence of a change in the ministry, of the attempt of 1779, and declares that "it is impossible there can ever be a worse contrived expedition or with less of proper concert between the land and sea forces." At this date the Marquis seems to have despaired of a grand invasion, and recommends attacks on Chester, Bristol, Liverpool, and Cork. But it was then too late even for these. Although England had taken alarm in 1779, and had begun to make arrangements for resisting an invading force, vet, if we may judge from the debates in Parliament, she was hardly so well prepared during the two next years but that an army that could by any stratagem have effected a landing might have done serious mischief. But when it became evident to all that the reduction of America was hopeless, the cessation of the constant drain of force thither made England strong enough again to cope with any in-

The Chevalier de Ricard, a military brigadier, and a brave and able officer, whose low birth alone seems to have kept him from rising to the highest rank in his profession, had taken a prominent part in the preparations, both for the expedition of 1759 under the Marquis de Belle-Isle, and for that from which so much was expected and so little resulted in 1779, and had been also employed by the Comte de Broglie in arranging the details of his elaborate project. From him also, about the same time with the communications from De Crillon and Faure, though quite independent of them, the French ministry received rebuke and advice in the shape of "Plans of offensive warfare in America and Europe for the campaign of 1781, with a preliminary examination of the reasons that seem to show the necessity of executing one of these two plans." His thesis is, that the scattered operations going on only tended to the exhaustion of France and to the advantage of England, who gained strength by delay, and that the only hope of success lay in concentrating the whole resources of France either on the war in America, or on the invasion on a grand scale of England. Of these two courses he greatly prefers the second, "especially if the old and well-weighed plan of the Marshal de Belle-Isle, founded on that of the Marshal de Saxe, is followed;" according to which, as we saw before, the main invading body was to land near Maldon and march on London, while a secondary force landed in the south and intercepted troops coming

from Portsmouth. It would be necessary first to clear the Channel by drawing off the English fleet on a false scent to America. He does not enter much into details, reserving them for an audience with the ministers, but occupies himself chiefly with showing the ruinousness of incomplete and tardy operations. If the Comte d'Estaing had left Toulon a fortnight earlier, and with four additional menof-war and 5000 more troops at the commencement of the war, he would have been irresistible in America. If M. d'Orvilliers had been a little more prompt in August 1779, he might have easily made himself master of Plymouth; for the Channel was then absolutely clear. If the Admiral de Guichen, whom Rodney had found so nearly his match that three engagements had ended without victory on either side, had been reinforced with 12,000 French, instead of the Spanish force under Solano, which did not act harmoniously with him, all the West Indies would have been secured. If M. de Rochambeau had attacked Rhode Island with 15,000 men instead of only 6000, there would not have been a chance of escape for Lord Clinton's army. Thus "it cannot be denied that we have four times failed of securing peace, not by plans badly laid or badly arranged, but by insufficiency of means." He agrees with De Broglie in deprecating combined operations. He had proposed, before the breaking out of the war, that Spain should pretend to be neutral, and assist only by a loan of money and by secretly forwarding Spanish and Neapolitan sailors; and, in like manner, that France should send the Americans money, which they wanted much more than men, and keep all her troops to invade England; and he now repeats that the cooperation of Spain had been rather prejudicial than useful, and that "such has always been the case with combined forces." He thinks that the English, by voting or appearing to vote the taxes themselves, by the apparently boundless resources of their national credit, and by the commerce which sustains it, have the advantage in prolonged operations; while for France, where "a temporary enthusiasm is soon followed by discouragement, and where to evade a tax or refuse to take part in a loan is thought the same as escaping the loss of property," everything depends on doing great things quickly. "In all nations," he says, with one of those curious indications of the new spirit abroad to which we have before alluded, "the revenue comes from the same original source, the will of the people; but the appeal to this source is steady and habitual in England, irregular and transitory in France. The course of public confidence is the same amongst us. At the first sound of war it is excited. The genius of a statesman has this moment to make his own. If the resources with which the general good-will furnishes him at first,

procure triumphs, all is thenceforward easy. The nation has glory in exchange for money; and it will grudge nothing to maintain it. But if it is disgraced by reverses, or disappointed by inactivity, it will become as grudging as it was generous, and future resources will be wanting in consequence of the thrifty use of the first supply."

From patriotic counsellors we pass to a very different character. an English deserter, with motives simply mercenary, but working very hard for the reward of his treason. In April 1778, a naval officer of the name of Hamilton was introduced to M. de Sartines at Versailles, as one whose long experience in the English fleet, and accurate knowledge of the state of the English coasts and harbours. would make his services very valuable to the French government; and he was taken into pay accordingly. One very curious paper in this collection consists of a "list of memorials and schemes sent to M. de Sartines since the beginning of hostilities," which this worthy appends, in proof of his industry, to a letter to the Marquis de Castries, written in November 1780, to claim the fulfilment of certain engagements as to pay and promotion. He had planned the step of selling himself to France long before he took it, and had occupied himself in the interval in taking notes of such topographical and hydrographical details as would be of most service to an invading army. One of his first communications was an exact account of the whole coast from the South Foreland to Berwick in a military point of view, with a description of the Nore, the different channels of the Thames and Medway, and the forts and camps adjacent. mentions the fact, to which parallels in modern times could probably be found, that the guard-ship Conquestadore, intended to bar the entrance of the Medway, having once dragged her anchors in a hurricane, and drifted a mile to the northward of its proper station. had been anchored there ever since, and no longer commanded the mouth of the river, and moreover was used as a dépôt for latelypressed sailors, who would be as likely as not to take the part of a hostile force offering them freedom. He suggests that Sheerness and the vessels at the Nore might be destroyed without difficulty; that if a pilot were procured for the Thames, the passage of which could not otherwise be safely attempted, there was no obstacle beyond the guns of Tilbury Fort to a landing near Gravesend, and the capture of that town, Dartford, and Maidstone, which were all defenceless; and that if an attempt were made on Woolwich before the projected camp at Blackheath was formed, even that important arsenal, the destruction of which would produce more alarm even than that of Portsmouth, could offer no formidable resistance, being wholly unfortified, and manned only by two battalions of artillery

and a company of engineers, and having close at hand a number of hulks, which could easily be converted into floating batteries to act against it. The documents enumerated in the list just alluded to followed this first important communication in quick succession, and are nineteen in number, most of them evidently containing a great quantity of information and suggestion, and all drawn up and presented between the 1st of May 1778 and the 19th of September 1780. There are three other similar documents from him of a later The chief plans of invasion proposed in this mass of memorials are, one for destroying the English squadron at Spithead, and then seizing the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth; another for landing in Torbay, seizing Dartmouth, Exeter, and Plymouth, and advancing into the heart of the country; and a third for a double attack by the French on Mount's Bay and Falmouth, and by the Dutch on the coast of Kent. If the account given of the state of Portsmouth be correct, it seems that, having once landed in Stoke Bay-which, when Admiral Hardy was beating about in the chops of the Channel, and the combined French and Spanish fleets of seventy vessels were unopposed within, a French force might probably have done—the new town of Gosport and the spreading suburbs of Portsea, which had been allowed to grow up between the guns of the ramparts and the arsenal, while no addition had been made to the original defences, would have sufficiently sheltered the invaders while they entrenched themselves in the bay, set fire to the arsenal, and waited for reinforcements. A little more promptness on the part of D'Orvilliers might perhaps really have made this scheme feasible. two plans do not seem to merit so much attention. Hamilton's knowledge of roads fit for the progress of an army does not at all correspond to his acquaintance with channels and soundings and the means of disembarcation; and the bodies of 20,000 men whom he would have placed in Torbay or Mount's Bay would not have had an easy march or pleasant times. There are several other suggestions, however, such as the using the large shallow Dutch East-Indiamen, which easily carried eight months' provisions and seven hundred men, for transports, and cutting down their whalers for gunboats, and the making sudden attacks on Harwich, Hull, Sheerness, and other undefended places, which the French might have adopted with profit, and others, again, such as the beginning hostilities immediately after the capture of the Licorne and Pallas, the atten pts on Guernsey, Grenada, and Dominica, and the offering battle off Ushant, in which his advice seems to have been really followed.

The only other document of the year 1781 that claims a passing notice is a letter to the Marquis de Castries, dated February the

4th, from an officer named Barrez, who asserts that he was the first Frenchman who set foot in Scotland in Charles Edward's attempt in 1745. He served in the artillery in that campaign, was taken prisoner at Culloden, and after two years' captivity returned to France and entered the Royal Scotch Regiment. His scheme, which was not altogether original, for there was some talk of a partial attempt of the kind from Dunkerque in 1691, was to blockade the ports of Shields and Sunderland, and set fire to the shipping and stores, and so to reduce London and the South to extremities by a famine of coal.

Although by 1781 the difficulty of raising money and therefore of organising an expedition on a very large scale had made the French ministers dismiss all such schemes as those of De Broglie and De Crillon from their thoughts, it would seem that it was not till after Rodney's great victory that they ceased to plan invasions of England. In the collection of which we are treating, there is an official duplicate, dated February 19, 1782, of "instructions to ---- charged with the mission of observations in England." The chief duty of the spy is stated to be to ascertain the exact state of the defences of the chief military establishments, and especially of Portsmouth and Plymouth, and to obtain reliable details for conducting an attack upon them, should the circumstances of the ensuing campaign prove favourable. This paper is made particularly interesting by pencil notes in the margin in the handwriting of Louis XVI. himself. One of these adds. "Falmouth, Bristol, Liverpool, and Cork," to the two ports named in the text, and another substitutes, "My next campaign or arry succeeding one" for "the ensuing campaign." The information obtained by the agent is appended. He reports that Portsmouth is in the same state still as when surveyed by Hamilton; but that Plymouth had been considerably strengthened since the appearance of the French fleet in 1779. It would appear, however, that even then a bold attempt might have had a very good chance of success at Plymouth, owing to the usual dilatoriness in carrying out the plans of defence. There was a very good landing-place on a beach of fine sand, about four miles from the city, and Maker-tower on Mount Edgecombe, which commanded all the fortifications and defences, was itself still undefended. It was more than a year since the English Minister of War had ordered three camps to be prepared for the defence of Plymouth, one of which was to be on this very spot; but nothing was yet done. "It is supposed that these camps will be formed by the end of April or the beginning of May. At this moment, there are not more than 3,000 men at Plymouth, although 10,000 or 12,000 would probably not be more than enough." The

report condemns Hamilton's project of landing in Torbay, but strongly recommends an attempt on Mount Edgecombe. Happily, Rodney's victory made this and other projects for a time hopeless.

More projects still continued to present themselves: but those that follow are mostly not worth much attention. The most sensible of them is a long note to the Minister for Naval Affairs from an able commander, Verdun de la Crenne, dated "off Cadiz, March 9, 1782," suggesting that the 150 decked vessels employed in the herring-fishery in the Channel might be economically converted into transports, carrying at least 100 soldiers each, besides artillery and provisions; and that as they drew very little water, and could be worked in a calm or against a light wind with sweeps, they would be very useful for landing troops on the south coast of England. This note further urges the use of fire-ships in any such expedition, and also that more attention should be paid to careening, all the English vessels being unfortunately copper-bottomed, which gave them a great advantage over both the French and Spanish, and accounted, in this officer's opinion, for many of the failures of the latter.

The most absurd of these documents, on the other hand, is a plan for marching 45,000 or 46,000 men to Salisbury Plain, where, it is gravely said, "they would find every possible facility for proceeding to London." This amusing projector devotes most of his attention to the details of the terms to be insisted on when London was invested. Besides giving up Jersey and Guernsey, all the West Indies. &c., "these turbulent islanders" were to promise never to build more than a certain fixed number of large vessels.

The other plans presented in 1782 are from Rozière, who had been one of De Broglie's chief agents in obtaining information in England, and from Maillebois, the son of the better-known Marshal Maillebois, and himself an inveterate and voluminous author, whose pen had cost him several years' imprisonment under Louis XV., and whose turn for schemes would have cost him his life afterwards, under the Constituent Assembly, if he had not escaped to Liège. These latter writers have not much hope of resuscitating such schemes as De Broglie's, but urge attacks on Portsmouth, Plymouth, Exeter, Falmouth, and Bristol. Maillebois, however, although, yielding to the pressure of insufficient means, he suggests some most absurd plans of landing small bodies of 26,000 or even of 16,000 men, who could only have been cut to pieces or taken prisoners, yet still hankers after the older and better ideas. "I do not see," he says, "much use in partial and passing attacks, such as those which the English made on our shores in former wars. VOL. VII. BB

It is all that their position and resources permit them to do; but it is not the same with us. A descent of the English does not much disturb France; a French invasion makes England tremble." It would be of use, he thinks, if a grand invasion is hopeless, at least to simulate one, for the sake of the alarm which it would cause. "The English are so afraid of one, that they do not even examine into the possibility of it before giving way to a panic. You have only to think of the terror which the little Dutch squadron spread all along those parts of the coast which it seemed to threaten. If we may credit the public journals, the mere appearance of it drew from the Cabinet in London proclamations which frightened the whole nation." One of the various communications of the indefatigable Maillebois has attached to it an autograph note from the Prince de Condé, his patron, dated Chantilly, June 22, and recommending it to the notice of the Minister; in which the Prince says of himself that, as one of the blood royal, he is plus citoyen qu'un autre,-another curious sign of the times. The reply of the Minister seems to indicate that all schemes of invasion were, in the circumstances of France at the time, impossible, and for the present wholly laid aside. There was not much return to them before the time of the Directory.

The expeditions planned under the Republic and by Napoleon are sufficiently well known already, and do not belong to our subject; but we may notice a very able paper, two copies of which are found in this collection, which, although drawn up in 1796, is a sort of comment from the English side on the projects which we have been considering. It is a "plan of defence," which seems to have been surreptitiously copied by an emissary of the Directory, who, through Madame de Cassini, had access to the papers of the Duke of Portland; and its study materially influenced their decisions. It was prepared under the anticipation, as it states, "that the enemy, when once free from war on the Continent, and having at his disposal a body of veteran troops ready for any thing, would recur to the traditional idea of a direct attack on England." The chief conclusions of this document are, that no army, however strong, would be able to penetrate more than forty miles into the interior from Plymouth, but that it would not be very difficult to effect a landing there; that Mount Edgecombe was the key of the position, and that the enemy having gained it might hold out there until reduced by famine; that if he got possession of Haldon, behind Exeter and Chudleigh, it would be still more difficult to dislodge him; that Portsmouth could not be taken, but that the arsenal might be destroyed by a coup de main from Portsea; that

the coast between Winchelsea and Hastings was not sufficiently guarded; that Hull and the northern coal ports were exposed to sudden and mischievous assaults; that if there was no negligence in the defences of the Thames and Medway, no large army could land anywhere within sixty miles of London, nor without great difficulty anywhere between Portsmouth and Harwich: and that the best proceeding for the French would be to attempt several landings in England, while the chief part of the expedition was directed against Ireland. It is recommended to divide the army of defence into three great bodies, and to station them on Haldon, on the boundary-line between Kent and Sussex, and on Portsdown, respectively. The conclusion appended to one of the copies of this document by a French officer is a strong representation of the advantages of an expedition to Bantry Bay, while Hull and Pevensea were threatened by way of diversion. The Republican spy who got possession of this paper gives his employers an inimitable history of his own adventures in London. He had been a Royalist in the Prince de Condé's army; and when he returned to Paris and took the pay of the Directory, he made his old friends believe that it was only to serve them. In London he represented himself as an agent of the Chouans, and offered to send over 15,000 or 18,000 of them to any English port. He intended, he says, to insist on half the money being paid in advance, to carry it off, and to send over instead the same number of Republican soldiers. He did his best to sow dissensions among the Royalist émigrés, and boasts that it was owing to him that the regiments formed out of them for the colonies refused to serve. The Baron de Nantia, the President of the Committee for aiding the émigrés, whom he calls "a traitor and a scoundrel," and the good Bishop of St. Pol de Léon, were the especial objects of his intrigues. He treats the Directory to some amusing comments on the English ministers. "Mr. Pitt, eaten up with ambition, has no friends; he consoles himself by getting drunk." "The Duke of Portland, good and weak, is without influence. He is the richest landed proprietor in England, and as such was dangerous before he formed part of the ministry, but his taking office has extinguished him." "Mr. Windham is a courtier, false and fawning to some, arrogant to others." Besides his public duties, he had arranged a profitable little private scheme for him-A "house in the city" was to give him information of the sailing of all the East-Indiamen and of the merchantmen that would be worth capturing, and he was to communicate with a French privateer, and to receive half the value of all his prizes. A disagreeable stop was put to all these flourishing prospects by the entrance one day of a king's messenger into the Sablonière Hotel, with a polite

intimation to our friend that he was under arrest. The Privy Council, who had received information of his communications with the Republicans, seem to have been puzzled to know whether he was a spy of theirs, whom it was good to hang, or a traitor to them, as he alleged, who might be made useful. After two months' detention, he was sent in a chaise to Yarmouth, and shipped for Cuxhaven, and made to pay, as he says, 230 louis d'or for expenses, with the alternative, which he declined, although "with extreme regret, for it is always disagreeable to pay for one's own rod," of being committed gratis to the Tower. The only considerable profit to the Directory was the carrying off the English "plan of defence" above mentioned. One would be glad to know—but on this history is silent—whether this hero ultimately escaped the guillotine.

## Our Library Cable.

- 1. M. GUIZOT'S Memoirs,
- 2. The Academia Essays.
- 3. SIMCOX'S Prometheus Unbound.
- 4. The Theories of Copernicus and Ptolemy.
- 5. Tullamore Workhouse.
- 6. The Church a Kingdom.

1. M. Guizot has concluded his Memoirs of my own Time. The last volume of his work, which, with all its drawbacks, must always remain a necessary storehouse of materials for the history of France and Europe during the reign of Louis Philippe, contains five chapters and a short summary of what may be claimed as having been accomplished by the Government of July. The first chapter gives a general sketch of the manner in which the ministry of which M. Guizot was the head carried on the Government by means of its parliamentary majority. The four succeeding chapters deal with special subjects-the Spanish Marriages, Italy and the reforms of Pope Pius IX., the question of the Sonderbund in Switzerland, and lastly, the Reform agitation which brought on the downfall of M. Guizot and his master and the Revolution of 1848. On each of these questions M. Guizot has an incontestable right to be heard; and if he is obliged to be always speaking of himself, and making an unconscious apology, he is always interesting on account of the information which he gives and the candid tone which he keeps throughout. The wearisomeness of the book - for it is to some extent wearisome, especially in the English translation, which might be much better than it is-arises partly from the lengthiness of the quotations and the official dryness of the documents of which it is in great part made up, partly from the unelastic and frigid character of the writer's mind, who irritates ordinary mortals by his uniform stateliness—a stateliness which is rather that of a schoolmaster than of an aristocrat. Those, therefore, who expect to find a store of agreeable gossip in M. Guizot's revelations of his experiences as a Minister will be disappointed. He does not abound in anecdotes, and those which he gives are not always of the most lively kind.

M. Guizot speaks highly and even affectionately of Louis Philippe. He praises him as a perfect constitutional sovereign, and denies the imputation sometimes cast upon him of interfering too

much with his Ministers. The fact seems to have been that Louis Philippe talked freely and incessantly about his own views on public affairs, and was thus thought to direct them. M. Guizot tells us that in his own department—that of Foreign Affairs—the King saw the despatches received by his Minister after the Minister himself, but did not, as a rule, have laid before him the instructions issued to the representatives of France at foreign courts. The general line of policy was agreed upon by the King and the Cabinet, and then the minister was left to carry it out in his own way. Of the public men in our own country with whom M. Guizot had to deal, he speaks most eulogistically of Lord Aberdeen, who was, there can be no doubt, much less troublesome to him at the Foreign Office than Lord Palmerston. In one of the questions treated of in M. Guizot's present volume-that of the Sonderbund-it is clear that Lord Palmerston outwitted the French Minister. The object kept in view by the latter was the presentation of an "identical note" by the Five Powers to the Swiss Government, in accordance with the recommendations of which peace might have been preserved, though at the cost of the practical sacrifice of the Catholic party. M. Guizot made a great point with the Continental Governments of obtaining the adhesion of England to this note. Lord Palmerston kept the matter open, and, at the last moment, stole a march on the rest of the Powers. was the general conviction," says M. Guizot, "since accepted as a certain fact by the best informed among the Swiss historians, that at the very moment when the 'identical note,' at length escaped from all its transformations, was ready to be forwarded to Switzerland, Lord Palmerston had given Mr. Peel orders to acquaint General Dufour [the commander against the Sonderbund] with it, and urge him to hurry on the conquest of Lucerne, in order that, at the arrival of the note, the five Powers who had signed it, England included, should find the war terminated and their mediation useless. The chaplain of the English legation in Switzerland, it was said, had been charged with this mission" (p. 457, English translation). The fact was as was surmised. M. Guizot gives a despatch from the French Minister in Switzerland, in which he relates a conversation with Mr. Peel at the house of the Spanish Minister, in which Mr. Peel admitted that he had "directed General Dufour to be told to finish quickly." He was in fact, according to M. Bois-le-Comte, hand and glove with the Radicals, and had invited them all to a grand dinner in honour of their victory, when the "identical note" arrived, and he was obliged to countermand his banquet,

M. Guizot writes with an air of satisfaction about the "Spanish marriages." The object of the French Government was to secure the throne of Spain for the House of Bourbon. For this purpose, Louis Philippe and his Ministers insisted on the exclusion of all candidates for the hand of Queen Isabella who were not Bourbons. The English Government seem to have favoured the claim of Prince Leopold of Coburg; and they appear to have objected—though their objection did not, as far as we can gather, amount to a positive exclusion—to the Duc d'Aumale, who was thought of by a considerable party.

Lord Aberdeen seems to have been far more ready to leave the question as it ought to have been left, entirely open for the Spanish Court and nation to decide for themselves, than the French Ministers, who availed themselves of the supposed exclusion of the Duc d'Aumale to exclude, in their turn, all who were not Bourbons. marriage of the Queen to the Duke of Cadiz, at the same time that her sister was married to the Duc de Montpensier, was a triumph to the French influence, which was naturally in the ascendant in Spain after the fall of Espartero, with whom Lord Palmerston, who left office not long before the solution of the question, had strongly identified the policy of England. But we cannot help wondering at the victorious tone with which M. Guizot concludes his chapter. It is true that he carried his point—the Bourbons, whose possession of the Spanish throne would have been shaken if the Queen had been allowed to choose a Coburg for her husband, have had it all their own way in the Peninsula; but they have been driven out of France, and if the two countries are united in interest or policy, it is certainly not owing to the marriage of Queen Isabella to Don Francisco d'Asis.

We must deny ourselves the inferesting task of entering on M. Guizot's account of the dealings of his Government with the Holy See during the first year and a half of the Pontificate of Pius IX. The despatches of M. Rossi, then French Envoy at Rome, and afterwards, as all know, Prime Minister of the Pope, though they cannot be accepted as a complete description of the situation at Rome—which, as we have already had occasion to remark, there is reason to think that Rossi never understood—nevertheless throw a good deal of light on some points of the history. M. Guizot tells us, moreover, that the Government of Louis Philippe had prepared to interfere in support of the Pope, if it became necessary. Five thousand men were ready to embark at Toulon and Port Vendres, and General Aupick was appointed to command them. The Revolution of February 1848 prevented the execution of this intended intervention.

As these pages are passing through the press, we find in the Etudes for September an interesting article on "M. Guizot and the Interests of Religion in the Nineteenth Century," from the pen of Père Daniel. We do not intend at present to enter on the general question treated of in this article. But it contains a portion of a letter from M. Guizot himself to Madame C. Lenormant, which deserves attention. Père Daniel had written in the Etudes, a year ago, a letter to M. Guizot in which exception was taken, among other things, to his account of the negociations carried on at Rome in 1845 by means of M. Rossi, the object of which was to induce the Pope to order the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in France. The part played at that time by M. Guizot as Minister is certainly not the most creditable portion of his career: nor can his admirers point with much greater satisfaction to the general maintenance, by the Government of July, of the principle of educational monopoly, against which a solemn promise had been made in the Charter. On these points, however, M. Guizot now defends himself in the letter

to which we allude. His defence amounts, in fact, to this: that in 1833, when Minister of Public Instruction, he had carried a law on the subject of "primary instruction" which was in accordance with the promise of the Charter, and which respected religious liberty: and that although he failed in improving the state of things with regard to secondary instruction, as to which the monopoly of the University remained in full force till after the revolution of February, he had still maintained more liberal principles in his speeches. As to the negociations of 1845, he declares that his Government had to deal with a strong public opinion, which demanded the execution of the laws forbidding the existence of unrecognised religious bodies: and that to treat with the Spiritual power for the solution of the question in a different manner was to gain time for the ultimate triumph of religious freedom. He thinks, in fact, that he persuaded the Government and the French public to content themselves with concessions instead of the rigorous execution of the law. As we have ourselves taken occasion to remark on these passages in M. Guizot's career, it is but fair to make known the view which he now takes of them. It appears, however, to us that he can hardly escape the criticism embodied in Père Daniel's remark, that the battle of "liberty of instruction" had been gained without him: and when we consider the intellectual and literary distinction attached to his name, this criticism conveys some reproach. On the other matter, also, his defence does not come to much. The illegality of the existence of religious bodies unrecognised by the State is quietly assumed by M. Guizot: yet he must be quite aware that a great number of eminent French lawyers gave their opinion that such bodies could not be molested. Then also, the negociation at Rome was an ill-disguised attempt at intimidation, and an ungenerous mode of warfare against men who were desirous of having their legal rights ascertained in a straightforward manner. The whole proceeding was, in truth, a weak sacrifice to a supposed popular feeling, which rested in reality on little more than anti-religious prejudice or the interests of the monopolists of education. The clamour to which M. Guizot yielded was a diversion in the war between the University and the Catholics. It is true that nothing came of the negociations beyond temporary vexation to the Society in France: but can M. Guizot fairly claim as an achievement the failure of his own policy? He demanded of the Holy See nothing short of the dissolution of the Society in France, and he announced in the Moniteur that it would "cease to exist." He took credit at the time with the enemies of religion, both for sincerity and for success; it is rather late now to take credit with the friends of religion for having brought about a compromise, and for having "bien compris, et bien servi, dans un moment très critique, la cause de la liberté d'association et d'enseignement."

Since the time when the publication of the Essays and Reviews threw the thinking world in this country into a ferment, the same form of publication has come to be adopted by various parties, poli-

tical or intellectual, for the promulgation of what is called in America a "platform"—a programme, a set of principles or ideas as to which the writers of the several parts of the volume are agreed, and which they desire to present to public notice and acceptance. There can be no objection to this method when the subjects of the different Essays are so selected and combined as to form a whole, more or less complete and harmonious, and as to give a clear and adequate idea to the reader of the main principles of a party. At the same time, the prevalence of the custom of which we speak may have the occasional inconvenience which results from a misconception of the aim and character of some particular volume, which may present itself to the public in such a form as to be mistaken for a "programme," when its composers have had no intention of giving it such a character.

The Academia of the Catholic Religion numbers among its members a large proportion of the Catholics who are most distinguished for literary attainments or intellectual activity, but it must be considered as representing only in a very indirect and even inadequate manner the Catholic body itself. It is, we think, one of its rules, that either all or some of the papers read at its meetings should be published, and it is to this rule that we owe the two volumes which have appeared—the last quite recently—under the title of Essays on Religion and Literature.\* But any one who is acquainted with the usual history of bodies of this kind must be aware that it must often be a matter of accidental arrangement what are the subjects selected for these papers, and who are the writers to whom those subjects are intrusted. Even the appearance in print of particular papers must often depend on circumstances over which the general body has no control; and thus, while the Academia itself can only be said in a very rough and unprecise way to reflect the opinions of Catholics in general, the Essays which issue from it, valuable as they are, can only be said to the same extent and no further to represent the opinions on particular points of the distinguished Society with whose name they are connected. When, therefore, we see a volume such as that now before us treated as a "manifesto," a "series of Ultramontane Essays," and so on, we can only say that the writers who use language of this sort do not know what they are talking about.

We do not, of course, say this, either in disparagement of the Essays themselves, or as meaning to hint that the volume now before us, on the points of which it treats, sets forth opinions which are not generally or widely held throughout the Catholic body. The most distinctly individual and controvertible of the papers before us are perhaps Dr. Ward's two lectures on the Use of the Intellect, which called forth, we believe, some criticism and dissent when they were first read, and which will probably not fare very differently now. We miss in the present volume the clear and powerful writing of Mr.

<sup>\*</sup> Essays on Religion and Literature. By various writers. Edited by Archbishop Manning. Second Series. Longmans, 1867.

Allies, who must, we imagine, have read some more chapters of his Formation of Christendom since the last publication of the Academia. We miss also the very interesting paper read some time ago by the Bishop of Birmingham on the Treatment of Convicts—which has, however, been published separately. The Archbishop of Westminster has contributed a most instructive Introductory Essay, in which the subjects which may be advantageously handled in the Academia papers are drawn out with his usual precision. His Grace has also reprinted, as a separate Essay, the chapter in his work on the Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost on the Inspiration of Scripture.\* Canon Oakeley is graceful and lucid as always, in his Essay on the present position of Catholicism in England; and Mr. Purcell, Mr. Henry Wilberforce, and Mr. Lucas are, each of them, admirable on their own subjects.

3. With the gorgeous work of Shelley on the subject of the release of Prometheus before him, Mr. Simcox deserves credit for the courage which has made him attempt a tragedy in continuation of the story which Æschylus—to us at least—has left half told. His drama, however, stands on a ground quite different from that occupied by Shelley, inasmuch as it is strictly an imitation of a Greek play, and follows very closely the outline of the Prometheus Unbound which Æschylus is known to have written, a passage from which has been translated by Cicero. Mr. Simcox has taken the greatest care to give both the action and the language of his play a thoroughly Greek air, and he has succeeded to a degree which ripe scholars alone will adequately appreciate. The play turns upon the love of Zeus for Thetis, who is fated, as Prometheus knows, and as Zeus does

† Prometheus Unbound. A Tragedy. By G. A. Simcox, M.A. London:

Smith and Elder. 1867.

<sup>\*</sup> We may be allowed to draw attention to a mistake which may derive importance from the eminence of the writer. The original work of which this Essay formed a chapter has been translated into French by M. Gondon, and the mistake in question, which refers to a statement made by Père Matignon in his work La Liberté de l'esprit dans la foi Catholique, has thus obtained currency in the country of that distinguished author, who has therefore felt it necessary to publish a reclamation in the Etudes for last July. The passage to which we refer occurs in p. 368 of the volume before Père Matignon is there spoken of as one of those writers who have by mistake attributed to Holden the opinion that "the inspired writers, in matters not of faith and morals, did err." The real opinion of Holden was that the special assistance given by God to the authors of the sacred books extended only to matters of doctrine, or to those matters closely or necessarily connected therewith: with regard to other things, he thought that no other assistance was accorded to them but such as is common to other very pious authors-" quod cæteris piissimis auctoribus commune sit." This opinion, though censured by the Sorbonne, has not, according to Père Matignon, been absolutely condemned by the Church. He considers it as improbable; but if any one were to use it on some particular point for the purpose of reconciling science and faith, he would not venture to declare that by the simple fact of so doing such a person would place himself beyond the limits of orthodoxy. This is obviously not the same thing as to say that Holden held that there were actual errors in Scripture. held there were none.

not know, to bear a son mightier than his father. Prometheus will not reveal the secret to Zeus, and when Thetis comes to consult him as to her future, on account of the dreams which trouble her concerning her marriage, he urges her to consent to the offer of Zeus for the sake of hastening on his own revenge. Thetis refuses, and when Hermes comes to sue to her for Zeus, she remains obstinate. and is led away captive. Peleus appears on the scene with her, as he too has to seek for advice from the chained Titan how to avoid the curse which is upon him for the slaughter of his brother Phokos. Herakles comes in also, as Prometheus has to inform him about the stolen oxen of the Sun. In return for his counsel, Herakles slavs the vulture sent to feed on the side of Prometheus, and thus becomes liable to the curse of Zeus, afterwards carried out in his death. Thetis consents to become the bride of Zeus, who for her sake sets the Titan free, and is willing to forgive Prometheus-Cheiron having consented to die for him. Prometheus still refuses to serve Zeus for ever, and is hurled to the farthest ends of the earth by the Titans, in revenge for the part he had taken against them. The drama ends in the release of Prometheus by Zeus himself, who consents also to forego the hand of Thetis, who is to be given to Peleus.

The drama reads like a very good version of a Greek play, and will be highly appreciated by those who can understand the difficulty of such reproductions and the beauty of the original type at the imitation of which they aim. To say this is to assure to Mr. Simcox "fit audience, though few." To the generality of English readers of poetry, his volume will have many charms. The versification is smoother than might be expected in an imitation of Æschylus, and though the sphere in which the action moves is too remote from ordinary interests and excitements to rouse the feelings to any great extent, the play of character is well managed and sustained throughout. Here and there we come upon passages of real poetry-somewhat modern in tone, but still in keeping with the general effect. Now and then, we are afraid it must be said, the Chorus is as difficult to understand as if its utterances had really been first conveyed in those strophes and antistrophes which are the terror of schoolboys and the favourite field for the conjectures of critics. On the whole, we cannot but think very highly of Mr. Simcox as a careful student of the true spirit of the Greek drama, and as one who is capable of taking a distinguished place among our modern English poets.

4. We have lately remarked on the violent and intemperate opposition with which the theory of Copernicus, as advocated by Galileo, was received on the part of the philosophical and scientific world of the day. The question was unfortunately entangled with another of quite a different character, relating to the traditional interpretation commonly attached to certain texts of Holy Scripture: but, if this had not been the case, there is abundant evidence to prove that the advocates of the new theory would have had every kind of trouble to contend with, from the fact that the worst kind of bigotry was in

arms against them-the bigotry of men of science. We are far from making a general charge of bigotry against scientific students. The greatest of them are usually the most patient, the most industrious, and the most sober in their assertions: but there are many among them who are in no way great, and who are, to boot, very poor logicians. Perhaps no greater service could be done to science at the present time, than a careful reduction of its enormous discoveries, and also of its hypothetical and yet unproved conclusions, to their right degree of certainty by the measure of the laws of reasoning. The theories based upon geological phenomena—especially those which bear on the history of the earth and the human race-form, perhaps, the branch of science—so-called—which demands most imperatively such a registration, if we may so speak, of the results of our investigations: but we have to deal at present with a careful pamphlet which treats of the comparative scientific certainty of two great "systems of the Universe," the theories of Copernicus and Ptolemy.\* The author deserves much credit for being venturesome enough to brave the storm of ridicule which is certain to fall on him from the less philosophical adherents of science; but we think he has little to fear from the opinion of any really scientific critics who may read his pamphlet through. We cannot claim for ourselves that familiarity with the subject which is necessary for any one who would pass a decided judgment on the arguments adduced by this author; we can only profess to estimate, as logicians, from the data placed before us, the difficulties which beset the two theories in question.

The author's argument runs much as follows. There are two theories which profess to account for the phenomena which fall under the general head of astronomy in its widest sense. One of these supposes the earth to be the fixed centre about which the rest of the heavenly bodies move: the other allots this position to the Sun, with regard to the Earth and the other planets. It is certain that relatively to each other, the Sun and the Earth describe an ellipse. This may be accounted for by supposing either of the two to be at rest, while the other moves round it, or both to be in motion at once. Can it be certainly proved that the Copernican theory is true? The author maintains that it cannot, He first deals with the astronomical objections to the theory of Ptolemy. It is commonly thought that the supposition of the earth's absolute motion round the Sun is required for the calculation of the positions of the planets, the periods of comets, the times of eclipses, and other like phenomena. But this is not the case, as these calculations are made on the supposition of merely relative motion, and the point assumed as fixed in them is varied according to convenience. In the next place, are there any phenomena ascertained by astronomers by which it may be settled whether the relative motion of the earth and the sun is to be explained by the absolute motion of the former? Such phenomena, if there are any, are the aberration of the fixed stars and the dis-

<sup>\*</sup> The Theories of Copernicus and Ptolemy. By a Wrangler. Longmans, 1867.

covery of their parallaxes. With regard to both of these, our author argues, the phenomena will be the same whether the earth moves round the sun or the sun round the earth. This is true, even of that beautiful method of obtaining parallax by differential observation, which was used by Bessel as to the star 61 Cygni. The distance between this star and its neighbours "increased and diminished in a proportion just such as would be due to the supposition of the earth's orbital motion round the sun." Yes, replies the author, but the calculations assumed the stars to be fixed, whereas they have a proper motion: now this proper motion is calculated on the hypothesis that the sun is fixed relatively to the earth. If the hypothesis be reversed, the same variations would be observed: "they would be found to be identically the same on either supposition." Having thus disposed of the particular arguments which might seem most forcible of all for the theory of the earth's orbital motion, the writer proceeds to speak of "a far more comprehensive way of treating this question, which will show how completely impossible it is for any astronomical observations which have been made, or may hereafter be made, to decide it at all. It is an axiom incontrovertible, that in order to ascertain the absolute motion or rest of any body in space, we must at least find one fixed point and one known fixed line passing through it" . . (two such lines are usually required). "Until this fixed point has been found, to attempt the mechanical demonstration of the earth's absolute motion is futile: and it will ever remain a mere question of probabilities, or the subject of metaphysical inquiry, unless, indeed, some future discovery of the constitution of matter, and a much greater understanding than we have at present of the origin of physical forces, enable us to decide it." But the absolutely fixed point has never yet been found, though Mädler has assigned it to the constellation of the Pleiades.

The writer, still dealing with the question of the orbital motion of the earth, next examines the probabilities of the case. If the solar system be considered as isolated and uninfluenced by the universe around it, it is certain that the common centre of gravity would lie far nearer to the centre of the sun than to that of the earth. It is thus that our system is, in fact, ordinarily considered. But there may be great force exerted on the solar system by the systems around it: or it is possible that the common centre of gravity of all the systems together may be placed somewhere in our own system, and if such were to be supposed the case, there would be no reason for placing it nearer to the sun than to the earth, "Should the external influence of the universe of stars be such as to cause this natural centre of gravity of the solar system to revolve round the earth, then the earth, as respects this system, would be absolutely fixed, and the whole of the motion in the yearly orbit would be absolutely due to the sun." Some remarks on the arguments from simplicity and symmetry conclude the first part of the pamphlet.

The second deals with the axial motion of the earth. On this question it will certainly be a great shock to our usual habits of thought to learn that certainty has not yet been reached. Even

the modern proof of the earth's diurnal motion by means of the pendulum experiment is not, as our author tells us, conclusive. the hypothesis which is the converse of that which the experiment is supposed to prove, that, namely, of the revolution of the whole system of bodies external to earth in twenty-four hours, the sensible effect on the pendulum would be exactly the same. The statement may be carried still further, and applied to all those phenomena which are usually attributed to the axial movement of the earth, such as its spheroidal figure, the nutation of its axis, and the like: and the author gives a clever explanation, on this converse hypothesis, of the fact that the force of gravity on the earth's surface diminishes as we proceed from the poles to the equator. thus again driven to the consideration of the relative probability of the two systems. The great objection to that of Ptolemy is contained in the difficulty of explaining the synchronous revolution of the stars, unless they are fixed in some solid sphere. This difficulty rests on the supposed universality of Kepler's laws. But recent discoveries have revealed to us bodies and systems in the Universe to which these laws do not apply. The nebulæ, in particular, defy their authority, and do not appear to be subject even to the ordinary laws of gravitation. We have come to a point in sidereal astronomy when the discovery of some more general law, of which Kepler's laws may form a particular case, is imperatively called for, so as to account not only for the phenomena of the solar system taken by itself, but for those of the whole Universe, of which it forms a part. There is, moreover, an objection against the Copernican system from the fact of the proper motion of the stars, and the law of mutual attraction, which would operate so as to produce the collapse of all the heavenly bodies into one solid mass, unless we suppose some arrangement of the stars into systems, which revolve round some centre. But there is not "even an indication that such an arrangement of the stars is an existing fact."

We must forbear dwelling on the concluding sections of the pamphlet, in which the author treats very ingeniously of the application of modern theories as to the constitution of matter to the question at issue, and points to a subject of inquiry which, as he thinks, might possibly, if pursued, lead to the discovery of some law which might be universally applied. At this, as we have seen, he has already hinted in the earlier part of his work. The law of gravity hitherto held to be universally applicable—"that each particle of matter attracts another with a force varying inversely as the square of the distance, and directly as the mass," fails to explain the phenomena of nebulæ and comets. May there not be a difference in the specific force of gravity proper to each different substance, and might not

such a difference be discovered by experiment?

5. The King of Prussia, whose military hospital at Münster was placed under the care of Sisters of Mercy in 1853, has ordered that whenever any Religious Sisters tender their services to any garrison hospital, they shall be at once accepted, without waiting for any

demand on the part of the military authorities. This and various similar facts, and an abundance of testimony to the success of the Sisters of Mercy in the care of workhouse infirmaries, are given in a Report\* lately printed of the proceedings last year in the Tullamore Workhouse, King's County, in which three Sisters are now in charge of all the sick, living in a set of rooms provided for them on the premises, and performing all the duties of nurses. The same good results are visible as at Limerick, Galway, and Ballinasloe.

6. In a discourse addressed to a congregation of Protestants of any school that professed to believe in the inspiration of Holy Scripture, the text to be chosen in preference to any other might well be that very one (St. John v. 39), which, with a grotesque unconsciousness of the absurdity of the proceeding, thousands of "Bible-Christians" parade as their justification for resting satisfied with the spurious Christianity in which they were trained. Nothing can be more complete than the parallel between the rejection of their Messiah by the Scribes and Pharisees, with the prophecies that clearly pointed Him out read in their ears and held in their hands, and the rejection of His system of government by those who profess to make a daily study of the inspired volume in which that system is even more fully described than His Person,-or between the pertinacity with which the unbelieving Jews quoted those passages of the prophets which were consistent with their own expectations and ignored the rest, and the similar course pursued by Protestants with regard to the Church. -or again between the cutting reproof addressed to them by our Lord in the words of which such a strange use has been made by their modern representatives, and the application of the same reproof to all who now receive Holy Scripture and reject the Church. "These words were addressed to the unbelieving Jews by the Divine Founder of the Church, when on earth; and these words the Church,-which it was His Mission to establish,-which He invested with His own authority,-and whose teaching He identifies with His own,-repeats in the present day to those who, like the Jews of old, think they have eternal life in the Scriptures without attending to or obeying that Divinely appointed Teacher, of whom the Scriptures themselves testify." The little workt which opens with this clear and temperate statement is one which certainly deserves praise. It is a wellarranged manual of Scripture teaching as to the establishment of a visible Kingdom of Heaven upon earth and the prerogatives guaranteed to it; with just commentary enough to connect the different testimonies and point out their significance. Many will remember what a powerful impression was produced by Father Newman's luminous exposition of a part of this mass of evidence in his Epiphany sermons in St. Mary's pulpit at Oxford. Mr. Sibthorp's letters also,

\* The Sisters of Mercy as Nurses of the Sick Poor in the Tullamore

Workhouse, King's County. Report, &c. Dublin, 1867.
† The Catholic Church. A compendious statement of the Scripture doctrine regarding the nature and chief attributes of the Kingdom of Christ. Longmans, 1867.

we believe, Jed to many conversions by their appeals to the Old Testament prophecies of the Church. The compiler of the manual before us has, we think, done an important service by presenting the sum of inspired teaching on this vital matter in a compact and accessible form. It is equally conclusive against the ordinary Protestants with their device of an invisible Church, the Millenarians who, like the Jews, believe in a future instead of a present kingdom, and the Anglo-Catholics, the most inconsistent of all, who profess to believe in a kingdom, but a kingdom divided against itself and split up into three hostile bodies, one of which is an anarchical and acephalous confederation. We should have been glad of a few sentences from the compiler, pointing out the application to the third of these unscriptural errors as distinctly as he has done to the two former. It would be well also, we think, in another edition, -- and we hope that many will be called for,-to modify the note in the first page of the Preface. It was not precisely confidence in close adherence to the written word that was so reprehensible in the Jews, but confidence in their own interpretation of part of it while they neglected its general teaching.

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